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SULLIVAN MONUMENT.

New Hampshire

DEDICATION

OF THE

SULLIVAN MONUMENT

AT

DURHAM, NEW HAMPSHIRE

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1894

Published by Authority of the State

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JOHN SULLIVAN.

Like a monument reared upon a sure foundation, the American Republic rests securely upon the works and creation of the brilliant soldiers and sagacious statesmen of the Revolution. The story of their lives is eternal. Literature, poesy, and sculpture, expressing the deeper feelings of the people, are forever engaged in earnest rivalry in inscribing the living sentiment of succeeding generations.

The founders of the state of New Hampshire were conspicuous men of eventful times. Sullivan and Langdon, Weare and Bartlett, Thornton and Whipple, Cilley and Stark, Dearborn and Scammell, Thompson and Folsom, James Reed and George Reid, Livermore and Peabody, Hale and Bellows, the Gilmans, the Wentworths, and the Hobarts, were men of resources, and bold and sagacious leaders in the field and in the halls of legislation. All were men of unsullied character and of unusual ability. Of these worthies, each was a patriot, and all surrendered their energies and their fortunes to the cause of their country. Among them, disciplined by like experience and animated by a common impulse, many similitudes of mind and habit of thought are easily discernible.

Among them all, the strong contrasting qualities were those of Weare and Sullivan. It would be difficult in any age to find two men in the same walks of life of greater dissimilitude. The life-work of Weare was a human temple, reared by industry and cemented by the superior qualities of his judgment and discretion. Sullivan, bounding from the joys of youth into the wisdom and soberness of manhood, was swift in thought and bold in execution. Weare was prudent. He acted at all times and under all circumstances with rare intelligence, because he clearly discerned and correctly read the state of the public mind. Sullivan was impetuous. He gilded the realities of the present with the golden hopes and promises of the future. Weare was understood and appreciated, because he walked among and labored with the people, inviting them into the inner temple of his thought, and instructing them from the ripeness of his experience and the fulness of his wisdom. Sullivan, always in advance of public sentiment, was fond of moving, even if he failed to convince the people, and, while the cautious were grieving over a disturbance, Sullivan was rejoicing in war. Weare was a statesman of tact and ability. Sullivan was a born leader of men. Weare conducted, but Sullivan created, revolution, and each was equally illustrious in his peculiar sphere.

To Sullivan, more than to any other of the great and illustrious men of his time, is ascribed the attribute of genius. He found delight in boldly doing for to-morrow the work Weare wisely was complet-

ing for to-day. Sullivan preëminently was a man for revolutionary times. He was not a slave to ancient forms and customs. Ruthlessly trampling upon the traditions of his time, he boldly assaulted the conservative barriers that confined the people of New Hampshire within the pale of accustomed usage. He early declared for a free government for a free people. In the march of events, when the people reached his early standpoint, the constitution of 1776 was drafted on the line of his suggestions, which for a time had remained unheeded.

It is a century since the life of Sullivan was ended, and the qualities of his character and the magnitude of his work were submitted to the generous estimate of his fellow-men. His fame with the lapse of time suffers no impairment. A brilliant and an accomplished civilian, a distinguished lawyer, a matchless orator, a brave and an able general, a senator, a magistrate, and a governor, he bore his accumulating honors with modesty, and served the state which he loved with the restless power of a vigorous and versatile mind. The study of his life is instructive. Through the vista, obscured by a century, we read the story of his time in the light of the undimmed lustre of his achievements.

Many years ago, in a small cemetery not far from the common of Durham, was erected a plain, unostentatious headstone. It bears a name, and the date of birth and of death. The limit of the life of him who sleeps in this secluded yard was fifty-five years.

The name of Major-General John Sullivan is rudely carved upon the face of this simple tablet; it is more boldly engraven in the memorials of his time and the enduring annals of the state.

The suggestion that the good works of John Sullivan demanded a more conspicuous monument was so freely admitted, that the proposition failed to elicit the intelligence of debate or the accelerated force that springs from opposition. A sentiment that was universal first found definite expression in the halls of legislation. The act of 1893 made provision for a suitable monument, and referred its execution to the governor and council. Immediately the affirmative action of the legislature was supplemented by an efficient coöperation on the part of the citizens of Durham. A town committee, consisting of Jeremiah Langley, James W. Burnham, and Lucien Thompson, had frequent conference with Governor John B. Smith and the council, and all the formulated plans were promptly executed.

The location of the monument was a happy suggestion of the committee of Durham, which was promptly approved by the governor and council. The surroundings were graded and the lot prepared by the town. The site is historic. Here stood the first and the second meeting-houses of Durham. Here ascended the prayer and the praise of five generations. And now, dedicated to the memory of Sullivan, the offering of the present is hallowed by the incense of the worship of the fathers.

The first meeting-house of Durham was erected

about 1715. A new edifice succeeded on the same site in 1792, which remained until 1848, when the third meeting-house was located upon the north side of the river. The site of the first and second meeting-houses became a part of the common and fallow ground, until its fallen dignity was revived in the location of the Sullivan monument. The pastors of the church in Durham in the eighteenth century were Reverends Hugh Adams, Nicholas Gilman, John Adams, and Curtis Coe.

The monument was modelled from designs submitted by the New England Granite Works, to which was awarded the contract for its construction. It is of Concord granite, of fair proportions as represented in the engraving, and its height is thirteen and one half feet. It is inscribed as follows:

In Memory of

JOHN SULLIVAN

Born February 17, 1740

Died January 23, 1795

Erected by the state of New Hampshire

upon the site of the Meeting House

under which was stored the gunpowder

taken from Fort William and Mary.

The memorial was dedicated with appropriate exercises Thursday, September 27, 1894. The guests of the occasion, alighting from the early trains, found free carriages and a cordial welcome from the people of Durham.

A mammoth tent with a spacious platform and a convenient arrangement of seats was erected upon the common, which afforded ample accommodation for the assembled audience. At the noon hour a generous collation was provided under the general direction of the members of Scammell grange, Patrons of Husbandry, and throughout the day the efficient town committee, ably assisted by the people of Durham, surrounded their numerous guests with unfailing courtesy and attention.

At the invitation of Governor Smith, Rev. George E. Hall, D. D., of Dover, officiated as chaplain, and Rev. Charles S. Murkland, Ph. D., president of the New Hampshire College of Agriculture, presided on the occasion. Mr. Murkland ably conducted the exercises, introducing the several speakers with crisp, impromptu speeches, which, if transcribed, would have added interest and substance to the narrative of the proceedings.

PRESIDENT MURKLAND'S ADDRESS.

There is a certain solemnity in the purpose for which we are assembled. For that is a solemn moment when we are face to face with the earnestness, the sacrifice, the devotion and the power of a heroic soul; when we contemplate an individual, by virtue of these qualities, dignifying his surroundings and making succeeding generations his debtor. This may never become a large community, but it will always be exalted by its association with John Sullivan, lawyer, soldier, statesman, and judge. The plain, granite shaft, inadequate

as it may appear, will yet serve, when we shall have been forgotten, to recall the like of one who served his country so bravely and so well that he made slander dumb, and malice impotent. The treasure-house of the state is the record of her sons; in their exaltation she is glorified. And in those records, no name stands out in clearer relief than that which is inserted upon this monument. Of the variety and extent of his services, of the noble qualities which he displayed, of the trials he endured, we may partly learn from a significant deed, or a characteristic letter, or some expression of his fellows. But as the large personality is always the exponent of that which is in its own time at once effect and cause of its surroundings, the man himself must be found in the vast contrasts of that sublime moment of American history. There were small factors facing large issues; a little army defending an eternal principle; a hungry, ragged soldiery laying the foundations for such national prosperity; a few eminent men determining destiny for untold millions. A true exponent of such times was he whose monument we dedicate to-day. And we cannot forget or ignore the memorials, more fitting than this, more lasting than the sculptured stone, by which, under the divine law of consequences, the lives of the great and true are held in loving remembrance. This nation, in all its greatness; every increment to its power; every principle for which it stands; opportunity in which it may advance the cause of humanity;—these are monuments to him and to

those who, with him, lived and labored. And this granite is more than a block from the quarry, by so much as it suggests of the things visible and things invisible in which the memory of John Sullivan is perpetuated. Men die; responsibilities are constant. The inheritance is ours for a little while, and will then be our children's. This occasion, bringing high honor to this community by the presence of so many distinguished guests, and reflecting such credit upon the state and upon its executive, will have served its purpose if it recall us for the time to the contemplation of the nobler national spirit, and prepare us for our part in the divine succession of human privilege.

At the conclusion of his address, the president introduced Lucien Thompson, representing the citizens of Durham.

SPEECH OF LUCIEN THOMPSON, ESQ.

Mr. President:—A joint resolution in relation to the erection of a monument in honor of John Sullivan was introduced in the state legislature of 1893 by Representative Peter Laughlin of Dover, was passed and approved by the governor, March 31, 1893.

JOINT RESOLUTION in relation to the erection of a monument in honor of John Sullivan,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened:

That a sum, not exceeding one thousand dollars, be and is hereby appropriated for procuring and erecting in the town of Durham a suitable granite monument at the grave of John

Sullivan, patriot, soldier, lawyer, and statesman, provided said town prepare and furnish grounds and foundation upon which to erect such monument. And the further sum of two hundred dollars is hereby appropriated for suitable ceremonies, when completed and accepted.

That the governor and council are authorized to procure such a monument as they may think a credit to the state, and direct the construction and erection; and the governor is hereby authorized to draw his warrant for the sum raised out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

Approved, March 31, 1893.

The resolution being dependent upon the action of the town of Durham, a special meeting of its citizens was called in June, 1893.

Jeremiah Langley, James W. Burnham, and Lucien Thompson were appointed a committee to secure a suitable spot for the location of the monument, and prepare the ground and foundation upon which to erect it.

The town committee, after careful consideration, unanimously decided upon the old meeting-house site, an ancient landmark, full of historical interest to all citizens of our old Granite State, and one that should thus be forever commemorated to future generations as the site of the meeting-house and the spot where the gunpowder was stored after it was taken from Fort William and Mary, under the gallant leadership of Major Sullivan. It is near the homestead he loved and guarded so well, and overlooks the village and river.

The selection of this site was approved by the committee of the council and by the citizens of Durham, and an accurate survey was made by

Prof. Charles H. Pettee, estimates made of the work required, and probable cost of the same.

At the annual town meeting, March 13, 1894, it was voted to set apart the land owned by the town and known as the town landing and old meeting-house site, lying on the southerly side of the highway leading from Durham Falls to Newmarket, as the location for a monument to be erected by the state of New Hampshire in memory of General John Sullivan.

It was also voted to raise and appropriate a sum not exceeding five hundred dollars for laying the foundation, grading the lot, and other necessary purposes.

The selectmen of Durham were authorized to pay over to the committee from time to time such sums as might be needed for the same.

The foundation was laid and the grading done by Messrs. Daniel and Charles P. Chesley to the satisfaction of the town committee.

The committee of the council, Hon. F. N. Parsons of Franklin and Hon. E. O. Blunt of Nashua, contracted for the monument and its erection with the New England Granite Works of Concord, and the terms of the contract being promptly complied with, a monument of New Hampshire granite was soon placed in position, bearing a simple inscription, but meaning much to every citizen of New Hampshire. A visitor in Rome once asked, "Where is Cato's monument?" Cato replied, "I would rather people would ask where is Cato's monument than who is this Cato whose monument is here?"

The career of John Sullivan as a civil and military leader during our struggle for independence should ever be familiar to all citizens of our old state.

In behalf of the citizens of Durham, I deliver to your Excellency this foundation and its surroundings, remembering that the spot itself is associated with a characteristic act in the life of John Sullivan and with one of the first aggressive movements for American independence.

Hon. Frank N. Parsons of Franklin, representing the council, was the next speaker. His speech was one of the most enjoyable features of the occasion, but, unfortunately for the readers of this memorial, his words were not reduced to writing.

The state was represented by His Excellency John B. Smith, who spoke as follows :

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR SMITH.

Mr. President, Fellow-Citizens : We meet to-day upon an important errand—to dedicate a monument to an illustrious soldier and patriot of the Revolution. The world has always honored distinguished service. In all ages men have been found rising above their fellows, and making themselves famous by the force of genius and the favor of opportunity. Every land has had its heroes. Some of these have sacrificed themselves for the public good, and some, alas! have sacrificed the public good on the altar of their own selfish ambition. It is said that the poet is born and not made.

Heroes are both born and made. Genius and greatness need opportunity. John Hampden might have remained the simple "Village Hampden," and Oliver Cromwell a quiet country gentleman, but for the imposition of the illegal ship money tax, and the duplicity and weakness of a bad king, who sought to trample upon the ancient constitution of his country and the rights of the people, in an age when those rights were beginning to be better understood, and when "resistance to tyrants" was coming to be recognized as "obedience to God." The great crises that come in the life of nations and peoples are opportunities, and men of genius and great qualities seize and use them, sometimes for their own advancement, sometimes for mankind. Such a crisis in the life of our people, and in the world's life, even, was the American Revolution; and no event of history (excepting the late unholy Rebellion) has been so fruitful of heroes as this. And it is our proud boast that the colony of New Hampshire furnished its full share of these heroes. We are proud of Stark and Poor and Cilley, of Langdon and Thornton and Bartlett, and a goodly host of others. But it is no invidious distinction to say that of all the New Hampshire men of the Revolutionary period, Sullivan was not only peer,—he was preëminently chief. He was soldier, statesman, lawyer, and governor, all in one, and great in each and all. But it is not my purpose to enter upon any extended eulogy. This is the province of others, and is committed to able and worthy hands. The world's appreciation of its heroes finds expres-

sion in monuments of enduring materials, which may be a sign, an inspiration and education to coming generations. We this day dedicate such a monument to John Sullivan. Although he well deserves it, yet in a sense, a large sense, he does not need it. His fame is already secure ; his life is a part of the country's history. We who build it, need it. We need it as our expression of gratitude to him, and as a sign of our own loyalty to the great principles and cause to which he devoted his lifelong service—a life short in years, but long, measured by results.

"That life is long which answers life's great end."

This monument is erected by the state. It is made of our own New Hampshire granite. The town of Durham has generously furnished and prepared the grounds. It is appropriately erected upon a spot associated with a deed of daring and bravery of which this bright young Irish lawyer was the chief actor. The affair at Fort William and Mary was one of the initial steps of the war, and on this ground the results of that enterprise, the captured munitions, were stored for a time. This monument is well fashioned, chaste in design, and appropriately inscribed, and reflects credit upon the committees having it in charge. It will ever suggest love of country, love of liberty, courage, and sacrifice. And now, by virtue of my office (an office I am all the more proud to hold because John Sullivan filled and honored it), I accept these grounds from the town of Durham, and this monu-

ment from the committee, in behalf of the state. It will endure, we may confidently hope, so long as time shall last. It will need no special protection: no vandal hand will ever deface it. The love and veneration of all mankind for its great subject will be its best guardian.

The poem of the occasion was read by Henry O'Meara of the *Boston Journal.*

MARTIAL AND CIVIC CROWNED.

What full-wrought hero vivid yet appears,
Far-visioned through our Nation's vital years,
Whose hand upholds the weapon freemen draw—
His head the wreath of order wrapped in law!
Relit in Revolution's primal scene
On the Fort long grasped in name of King and Queen.

"Yield in the people's name!" his swift demand,
As daring impulse of a dauntless band,
These moonlit waves reflect a marveled sight,
While first he moves to breast the Briton's might—
Their powder lodges 'neath the pulpit sill,
Destined to preach our text at Bunker Hill.

From Boston's Heights to icy Delaware
With Washington he stands to do and dare—
From Hudson to St. Lawrence his campaigns;
No toil or terror's realm his zeal restrains.

And now the savage hordes his deeds demand,
Needful, though cruel calls, his arms command—
"Avenge fair Wyoming!" each white man cried—
Her echo wails o'er Susquehanna's side!
Swiftly his warlike genius stirred we see
In beauteous Valley of the Genesee;
His bayonets fringe dark forests with their glow,
His cannon cast their blight on all below;
In woods primeval held by warbling bird
His chant of march and battling cheer is heard.

Ah ! sad the need, but gladdening still the end
Where powers of progress ranked in right contend :
He falls upon that foe with havoc's ire
Whose track yet reeks with treachery, blood, and fire ;
He fights from barbarous hands these fields to wrest
That form the Empire State's rich boundaries west.

Marvel we not that from these scenes of awe
He turns to greet his earlier love, the Law,
That from our Nation's chief in later day
He holds the ermine of judicial sway.

But spirit militant can not abate,
He tears from Anarchy his fostering State ;
"Briton and Indian long I dared," he cries,
"Your threats to me as Governor I despise."
He lives to steer, outsailing civil storm,
The Constitution he full served to form.

'Tis fit that here where filial days were passed,
When young ambition, hope's career, was cast,
Where scenes inspiring filled his patriot eyes,
This carved memorial of his fame should rise—
Here on the spot where captured stores were hid
That spoke the desperate stroke of arms he did—
The ammunition prized that flashed the word
When earliest flaming of a Nation stirred.

Tried in the crucible of war and woe,
He braved a sovereign's force and savage foe ;
When gold and deeds were for his land assayed
Fortune and fortitude on her he laid,
And though Detraction, seeking dross, assailed,
The metal of his Merit's wealth prevailed—
Aspersion's mist may shroud the mountain base—
But loftier still he shines with lifted face.
Above the symboled life raised here shall stand
His statue reared in records of the land,
In powers clear-wrought for struggling people's cause
That strove alike for liberties and laws.

Soldier and jurist, with two missions twined,
Whose claims the martial and the civic bind—
In whom the blood of nations dual blend—
You rose in peace or peril to defend,
Fitly equipped for errand of your pride
An infant Commonwealth to guard and guide!

Your deeds for all the land that holds your fame
Shall link you now to loved New Hampshire's name,
While throbs high manhood round her glistening hills—
While patriot gleam, or pristine glory thrills.

In a felicitous speech, the president introduced Rev. Alonzo H. Quint, D. D., who had been invited to deliver the principal address of the occasion.

ADDRESS OF REV. DR. QUINT.

In the month of June, 1777, Peter Livius, a royalist refugee, then chief justice of Quebec, but who had been chief justice of the province of New Hampshire under the king, wrote thus to John Sullivan :—

"You were the first man in active rebellion, and drew with you the province you live in. You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment and justice of government. Your family will be ruined, and you must die with ignominy."

To the man thus truthfully designated as the man who, in all the American provinces, was the first to take up arms against the king, New Hampshire now erects this monument of native granite. It is fitting that the state should thus commemorate the service of men who, in times of great crises, and especially in the crises of national life, distinguished themselves by sagacious foresight and heroic deeds.

It is well that there should be monuments which shall inspire young men with love of country and the spirit of self-sacrifice. It is particularly fortunate that the construction of this monument should not have been delayed beyond the first year in which the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts should have been established in this place. With the erection of noble buildings for the living instructors, the state erects a silent instructor of patriotism for its young men and women. Nor is it to be forgotten that the munificent gift to this college, for which the testator had carefully invested his accumulated wealth, was made by a grandson of a distinguished civilian who, residing here, made his counsel and his work influential in the independence of this state. In the selection of Lucien Thompson, a great-grandson of Ebenezer Thompson, to represent the town on this occasion, the people of Durham observed the proprieties of the occasion. Ebenezer Thompson and John Sullivan were colleague deputies from Durham in the first revolutionary provincial assembly of New Hampshire. The former was soon made secretary of the province in place of the royalist official removed from his office, and he held that position from 1775 to the year 1786, was one of the council for five years, from 1776 to 1781, and was one of the Committee of Safety appointed by the province, to which were given almost despotic powers during the war ; was twice appointed a delegate to Congress, but was compelled to decline on account of his health; was a member of the Constitutional

Convention of 1791–2; and he held the office of judge for fifteen years.

The erection of this monument was too long delayed. It will be a hundred years next January, since the bold and gallant soldier, the wise and far-sighted statesman, was buried on yonder height, where the trees overshadow his grave. New Hampshire has lost its first opportunity. Fifteen years ago, the people of New York dwelling in the great valleys where the Iroquois had lived, and from which they had desolated with tomahawk and fire the frontier settlements, held four celebrations, at four different places, in commemoration of the work done by Major-General John Sullivan and his gallant forces, just one hundred years before. One of these four celebrations was at Geneseo, and one at Aurora. At a third place, Waterloo, was erected a small monument bearing the name of Sullivan. The fourth and principal celebration was on the battle ground of Newtown. Here the day was honored by the presence of the governor of New York, the governor of Pennsylvania, and the governor of New Hampshire, each with his military staff. Gen. William T. Sherman was there with his appropriate staff. "I come here," he said, "as a representative of the Army of the United States," —of which he was then, under the President, the head. It was estimated, as is given in the beautiful volume wherein the State of New York gathered all the proceedings and all available ancient reports and diaries, and in which it placed opposite the title-page an engraving of John Sullivan, that fifty thou-

sand people were present on the occasion. The inscription upon the fine monument then dedicated, standing on Sullivan Hill, designates the service of Major-General John Sullivan, and with that mentions the names of his four brigadiers, among which is the name of Enoch Poor, of New Hampshire, who there gallantly led the three New Hampshire regiments of the Continental line, commanded by their noble colonels, in the decisive act of the battle.

New Hampshire furnished, in the Revolution, a wonderful line of colonels, both in its regular regiments and in those specially raised for particular service. What state gave to its entire quota such names as Stark, Reed, and Poor, at the very beginning of the war? Of their successors, find Scammell, who went from John Sullivan's law office a hundreds rods from this spot, to become adjutant-general of the entire army of the Revolution; Henry Dearborn, who became a major-general and secretary of war; the gallant Joseph Cilley, George Reid, Nathan Hale, Timothy Bedel; such and others were on the list of New Hampshire colonels. Nor should Winborne Adams be forgotten, who went from yonder dwelling-house, and fell at Bemis Height while commanding the Second New Hampshire. Nor can the names of patriots like Weare, Langdon, Bartlett, Whipple, Folsom, Wentworth of Somersworth, Thornton, Wingate, Gilman, Belknap, and Livermore, be left to silence. Honors to all the brave leaders, many of whom I cannot now name, will come in due time. That we

honor one to-day is no disparagement to the memory of others.

But, for this particular occasion, we can only ask the question, "What were the public services of John Sullivan, which entitle him to this recognition?" To this question scarcely an outline can be given in reply. But such an outline at least is appropriate, as the times of the Revolution grow dim in the past. So far as his services are concerned, this monument has the eloquence of silence. It gives no items of public service. It indulges in no eulogistic epithets. This is right. It simply says, "John Sullivan, born Feb. 17, 1740; died Jan. 23, 1795." It is enough.

He was a son of New Hampshire. The encyclopedias even now almost universally record him as a native of Berwick in Maine. It is a mistake. In my boyhood, Michael Reade, an aged citizen of Dover, whose clear mind was filled with traditions which he gave to me, insisted that John Sullivan was born in Somersworth, part of old Dover, in a winter when the father had brought his family across the river during a term of service as teacher. I found this tradition verified by a statement in the New Hampshire *Gazette*, of March 10, 1787. In the political campaign, a handbill had objected to Sullivan's election to the presidency of the state on the two grounds that he was a soldier and born outside of New Hampshire. To the latter objection the reply was made, "Surely this collector of public intelligence has not consulted all the people in this state, or he would have found

out that President Sullivan was born in Somersworth, in the county of Strafford." New Hampshire should keep the enrolment of its own son.

The son of a poor teacher[1] exiled from his native land, but who, educated upon the Continent, was familiar with five languages; son also of a mother who when asked why she came to this country replied, "I came here to raise up governors"; and two of her sons and one great-grandson became governors of states[2] trained by this father, especially in classic literature; dependent upon his own efforts; reading law in an almost menial position in the family of the eminent lawyer, Samuel Livermore, of Portsmouth; marrying at the age of twenty; settling as a lawyer in this place, and Dec. 19, 1764, purchasing from the heirs of Dr. Samuel Adams yonder premises which Parson Hugh Adams, father of Samuel, had purchased of Joseph Burnham, Aug. 7, 1717,—where Sullivan made his home during his whole life; brilliant, versatile, energetic, eloquent, he speedily achieved success at the bar as an advocate, and by his active enterprise in establishing mills, fast accumulated property. But the oppressive measures of the British ministry found in him a bold opponent. I cannot but think that much of his dislike of British administration was born with him. He was the

[1] May 20, 1723, Master "Sullefund" was chosen one of the two teachers of the town of Dover, at £30 salary per year.

[2] John Sullivan was governor of New Hampshire; James Sullivan was governor of Massachusetts; and Samuel Wells, born in Durham, was governor of Maine. The brilliant lawyer, John S. Wells, a native of Durham and brother of Samuel, was attorney-general, and a member of the United States Senate.

descendant of a line which had for many generations been despoiled of their possessions, outraged in their consciences as to the worship of God, subject to the bloody and murderous assaults of the English government. He was of the O'Sullivans of the southwestern part of Ireland, near Bantry Bay, to whom the name of England was justly a synonym for merciless tyranny and bloody despotism. He could trace his ancestry to holders of castles leveled by the English invader, and to worshipers whose natural rights have been denied. His grandfather, Major Philip O'Sullivan, had been a soldier in the defense of Limerick, the last place in Ireland to submit to William III, and on its fall had chosen liberty in exile in France where he died, rather than submit to forswear himself at home. His father, Owen, taken by that father as a babe to France, had, when attaining manhood, gone back to Ireland, but speedily found that the oppression of the English government would give him no peace except at the cost of slavery. I am sure that John Sullivan, son of Irish exiles, had hereditary insight into what British tyranny might, if unresisted, exact from Americans. Nor was there any doubt of his sympathies prior to the outbreak of war. "Your approbation of my conduct while at the bar," he wrote to the Committee of Safety of Hillsborough County, Aug. 10, 1775, "acting in defense of an injured people against the arbitrary tools of government gives me the highest satisfaction."

This monument declares that the powder seized

from Fort William and Mary, December 14, 1774, was stored in the cellar of the meeting-house which once stood upon this spot. That powder was brought here by John Sullivan, and, under his lead, Alexander Scammell, Eleazer Bennett, John Demerritt, Ebenezer Thompson, and their associates, whom he summoned for the purpose. Whoever may have been present on the two days of that seizure, it was to this event that Livius referred when he wrote to Sullivan, "You were the first man in active rebellion." "Major John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon," wrote Belknap, "distinguished themselves as leaders in this affair." Adams, in his "Annals of Portsmouth," who could consult contemporaries of the event, said it occurred "under the direction of Major John Sullivan and Capt. John Langdon." These men had received their commissions two years before, in the Second New Hampshire militia, where Sullivan had earlier been a captain.

"When I returned from Congress, in 1774," wrote Sullivan, some years later, "and saw the order of the British King and Council, prohibiting military stores being sent to this country, I took the alarm, clearly perceived the designs of the British ministry, and wrote several pieces upon the necessity of securing military stores; which pieces were published in several papers." Sullivan, bold and intrepid, then an active member of the Continental Congress, and well known throughout the province by his leadership at the bar, had great influence. The seizure of the munitions at the fort,

though sudden at last, was doubtless not without previous thought. The result of this act was momentous. It was the first act of armed rebellion. It preceded Concord and Lexington by four months of time. The captors of the fort entered it against the fire of field-pieces and muskets, openly and in broad daylight. They pulled down the royal flag, the first time in American history. They gave three cheers in honor of their success. They carried off a hundred barrels of powder, some light guns, and small arms, which, under the care of Sullivan, were taken up the river now flowing in your sight, but then covered with thick winter ice through which a pathway had to be cut. "Men on guard at Durham," wrote Belknap, December 21, in his diary not printed.

This audacity had its effect in England. It was the reply to the King's proclamation. It so irritated that monarch that thoughts of conciliation were at once ended. In this province, the governor issued threatening proclamations. He dismissed the offending major and captain from their posts in the militia. In answer to this edict, all persons in Durham holding civil or military stations under the governor assembled at yonder tavern, moved across this little green, and here publicly burned their commissions and insignia of office. Sullivan, in the public prints, boldly defended the seizure. Here he also raised a company of eighty-three men, which he, being an ardent lover of military exercises, proceeded to drill for the coming conflict. The powder stored

upon this spot, and that in the safe custody of Capt. John Demerritt at his home in Madbury, was taken by that person in his ox cart to Cambridge, as directed by Sullivan, where it arrived just in season to be dealt out to the troops at Bunker Hill.

But Sullivan had already entered the national life. On the twenty-first day of July, 1774, the convention of New Hampshire deputies, which was a voluntary body direct from the people, in which he represented the town of Durham, appointed him and Colonel Nathaniel Folsom delegates to the Continental Congress which was to meet at Philadelphia; and he was re-appointed January 25, 1775. He was thus the first person ever chosen to represent New Hampshire in Congress. Of the signs of his activity and usefulness in this station, I will present but two instances. In the first Congress, he was placed immediately upon two important committees. The most important was that upon the grievances of the people, of which he was chairman. "The committee of violations of rights," says John Adams in his diary, "reported a set of articles which were drawn by Mr. John Sullivan of New Hampshire, and these two declarations, the one of rights and the other of violations, which are printed in the journals of Congress for 1774, were two years afterwards recapitulated in the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776." New Hampshire has perhaps not remembered that the bold hand and the legal training of John Sullivan are in the immortal Declaration of Independence.

The other important position which he took was in favor of the establishment of state governments, in 1775. John Adams recites his own opinion as expressed to Congress:—

"That this could be done only by conventions of representatives chosen by the people in the several colonies in the most exact proportions. That it was my opinion that Congress ought now to recommend to the people of every colony to call such conventions immediately, and set up governments of their own, under their own authority; for the people were the source of all authority and original of all power. These were new, strange, and terrible doctrines to the greatest part of the members, but not a very small number heard them with apparent pleasure, and none more than Mr. John Rutledge of South Carolina and Mr. John Sullivan of New Hampshire."

Again he writes:—

"Mr. Sullivan was fully agreed with me in the necessity of instituting governments, and he seconded me very handsomely in supporting the argument in Congress. . . . Not long after this, Mr. John Rutledge returned to South Carolina, and Mr. Sullivan went with General Washington to Cambridge, so that I lost two of my able coadjutors. But we soon found the benefit of their coöperation at a distance.

"On Wednesday, October 18, the delegates from New Hampshire laid before the Congress a part of the instructions delivered to them by their colony. . . . This instruction might have been obtained

by Mr. Langdon or Mr. Whipple, but I always supposed it was General Sullivan who suggested the measure, because he left Congress with a stronger impression upon his mind of the importance of it than I ever observed in either of the others."

A state government was not long after established; it became a fact in January, 1776, and although General Sullivan was then in the field, his advice was sought in the formation of the Constitution, and his influence felt. New Hampshire thus again took the lead. It was the first of the provinces to establish a state government. In our time it looks as if this must have been an easy task. But the patriot founders encountered great obstacles. The sentiment was not all one way. When, in January, 1775, a son was born to Gov. John Wentworth, the grandmother of the child wrote to a friend, "Had a young prince been born, there could not have been more rejoicing. The ships fired their guns. All the gentlemen of the town and from the king's ships came the next day to pay their compliments. The ladies followed." The rejoicings continued for a week. Such was still the feeling of certain classes in Portsmouth toward the representative of royalty. Even in January, 1776, when the convention of deputies was in session at Exeter and considering the propriety of establishing a legislature, a legal meeting of the freeholders of Portsmouth, including more than two hundred persons, unanimously remonstrated against such hasty and untimely action as

practically meaning independence. A writer in the same month in the Portsmouth *Gazette,* says of "independency": "It is a monster of so horrid mien as to be hated, needs but to be seen."

But Sullivan felt no hesitation. While he was in the trenches around Boston, he wrote to John Adams, Dec. 21, 1775, urging a declaration of independence. His language is impassioned: "Let me ask if we have anything to hope from the mercy of His Majesty or his Ministers. Have we any encouragement from the people of Great Britain? Could they exert themselves more if we had shaken off the yoke and declared ourselves independent? Why, then, in God's name, is it not done? Whence arises this spirit of moderation,—this want of decision? Do the members of your respectable body think that the enemy will throw their shot and shells with more force than at present? Do they think the fate of Charlestown or Falmouth might have been worse, or the King's Proclamation more severe, if we had openly declared war? Could they have treated our prisoners worse if we were in open and avowed rebellion, than they do now?"

John Sullivan's service in the field began with his appointment as Brigadier-General, June 22, 1775. He left Congress immediately and reported to Washington, at Cambridge. From that date, he devoted himself to his country in war with a bravery sometimes almost reckless, with a faithfulness unchallenged, and with military qualities recognized by Washington as being of a high order.

It must be remembered that the battles of the

Revolution were, in most instances, temporary defeats. Our forces were often merely raw levies, owing to the folly of Congress, and its ignorance of the art of war. We were, in many cases, outnumbered and outnumbered by soldiers thoroughly disciplined and well supplied with munitions of war. Against all these Washington had to contend. It was his patience, his sagacity, his love of country, which succeeded. In the few victories achieved, we generally had the advantage of numbers. After Stark, with his independent New Hampshire command, had crushed the British detachment at Bennington, an ordinary second lieutenant—such were the superior numbers and position—could not have failed to capture Burgoyne. Yorktown was a victory because our army had become disciplined, and the French forces coöperated with Washington's strategy. The British nation became weary of a costly war, and conceded our independence.

This occasion scarcely allows more than a catalogue of services rendered and campaigns endured.

He was stationed at Winter Hill on the left of the American line of investment, in the siege of Boston. He superintended works of fortification. He was twice sent to the Pascataqua, to provide for fortifying and defending its harbors. There he built defensive works, and there he left Col. Joshua Wingate, of Stratham, in charge, with troops which New Hampshire furnished. When, late in 1775, the Connecticut troops refused to remain longer, and ruin seemed imminent, it was imperative that Washington should have five thou-

sand recruits, and that commander appealed to Sullivan to procure two thousand men from New Hampshire. Sullivan came home and with the noble coöperation of the patriots in authority, in ten days secured the whole number and marched them to Massachusetts. In a single week, Capt. John Waldron, of Dover, who had come back with Sullivan for the purpose, enlisted six hundred men and became their colonel.

When the enemy had been driven from Boston, March 17, 1776, General Sullivan, with Washington's approval, was assigned to our army in Canada. When he reached it, it was in a pitiable condition. The brave Montgomery had been killed in the useless attack upon Quebec. Major-Gen. John Thomas had been placed in command by Congress. He had felt it necessary to give up hope of success with his then force. General Thomas, after withdrawing from the advanced positions, soon died, and shortly after, General Sullivan arrived with some additional troops, and at once necessarily took command. At first, he was somewhat sanguine. He reinforced St. Clair, who was near Three Rivers, where he had been ordered by Sullivan's temporary predecessor, but the movement was useless. Burgoyne was arriving with reinforcements. Carleton had an effective force of ten thousand men admirably disciplined and well supplied with munitions of war, while Sullivan had but seven thousand, half of whom were prostrated by disease. "The Americans," says Bancroft, "were in imminent danger of being cut off and utterly destroyed." From this

position, with the enemy only two hours distant, Sullivan extricated his little army with admirable skill. Not a sick man was left behind, nor a spade lost from his equipment. When, on the 12th of July, 1776, he relinquished the command, his field officers presented to him an address, which mentioned with gratitude his unwearied labor, his tender care of the sick, and their esteem for the skill which he had exhibited. "It is to you," they said, "we owe our safety." They speak of him as the one who, "upon the late trying occasion, has comforted, supported, and protected the shattered remains of a debilitated army." Among those who signed this address were John Stark, Enoch Poor, James Reed, Anthony Wayne, and Arthur St. Clair.

The opinion of Washington as to Sullivan's qualifications was asked by Congress in view of contemplated promotions. Washington replied, June 17, 1776, in the most frank manner. He said, from his own knowledge, that Sullivan was "active, spirited, and zealously attached to the cause." "That he does not want abilities, many members of Congress can testify"; that he has a "little tincture of vanity"; that he had limited experience like all of "us," but that justice required him to acknowledge Sullivan's "genius." Seventeen days after his return from Canada, July 29, 1776, he was promoted to be Major-General, and joined Washington in New York.

He was assigned to duty on Long Island, not far from New York, under General Green, and

assisted in the erection of defenses. General Green being taken sick, General Putnam was assigned to command, with Sullivan and Lord Stirling as subordinates. The battle, which took place Aug. 27, could have had but one result. A line of defense extending six miles, against an enemy numbering at least four to one, whose generals were Howe, Cornwallis, and Clinton, could not be maintained by General Putnam. Sullivan's bravery was conspicuous, but both he and Lord Stirling were taken prisoners.

Exchanged soon after, Sullivan was assigned to the force under the command of Charles Lee. When that erratic officer, who had been steadily disobeying the orders of Washington to join him, was taken prisoner through his own folly, Sullivan immediately took command, and instantly proceeded to join the Commander-in-Chief. His arrival enabled Washington to make that brilliant movement upon Trenton, Dec. 26, 1776, which so revived the hopes of the discouraged patriots.

The Delaware was crossed, and a rapid march of nine or ten miles followed, making fifteen in all. Sullivan was in command of the right wing, and Greene, with Washington present, in command of the left. The march was in a storm of snow and sleet. Sullivan sent word to Washington that the ammunition was thoroughly wet, and asked his intentions. "Use the bayonet," was the reply. This precisely suited the ardent nature of Sullivan. He dashed into Trenton, with John Stark in advance, overpowering all opposition and disposing

his troops in such a manner as to prevent any escape on the right. Greene's coöperation took care of the left, and the Hessians were captured.

Eight days after this brilliant success, while Washington was on a projected march to Brunswick, occurred the affair at Princeton, in which Sullivan drove two British regiments, one of which had taken refuge in the college. "While the 17th [British] was engaging those troops [a large force of Southern militia]," wrote Sullivan to Meshech Weare, Feb. 13, 1777, "six hundred Yankees had the town to take against the 40th and 55th regiments, which they did without loss, owing to the manner of attack. Nearly two hundred of the enemy were taken in the pursuit."

Sullivan was stationed for a while at Princeton. In June, 1777, he divined the purpose of Howe, who was at Brunswick, to get between Washington and himself and capture his force. Howe was already on the march when Sullivan defeated that purpose by rapidly moving across the Delaware.

After months of strategic movements, or of patient waiting, by Washington, Sullivan was at Hanover, checking as far as possible the petty annoyances of the enemy. In August, he determined upon an expedition to Staten Island, twenty miles distant, occupied to some extent by British troops and Tories, from which frequent forays had been made. Crossing in the night of the twenty-first, the descent, which was at first successful, did not prove effective. He took some prisoners, but he lost more. In answer to complaints made by

personal adversaries, he demanded and eventually secured a Court of Inquiry. The court, consisting of Lord Stirling, Generals MacDougall and Knox, Colonel Spencer, and Colonel Clark, unanimously reported, Oct. 12, "That the expedition against the enemy on Staten Island was eligible, and promised great advantage to the cause of America; that it was well concerted and the orders for the execution proper; and would have succeeded, with reputation to the general and his troops, had it not in some measure been rendered abortive by accidents which were out of the power of the general to foresee or prevent." And that "General Sullivan's conduct in planning and executing the expedition was such that, in the opinion of this court, he deserves the approbation of the country and not its censure." Congress thereupon resolved that the result, so honorable to General Sullivan, was highly pleasing to themselves, and that the opinion of the court should be published in justification of that officer.

At the Brandywine, September 11, Sullivan, commanding the right wing, was not able to oppose successfully the British advance. Washington, with far inferior forces, was endeavoring to defeat, or at least delay, the British movement upon Philadelphia. Sullivan was ordered to occupy certain eligible ground, taking command of three divisions. Intelligence first received of the enemy's movements, and upon which Washington acted, was contradicted by later reports, brought in by reliable officers. The original report as to the place of crossing by the British was

in accordance with the opinion which Sullivan had given to Washington as to the movement which the enemy ought to make. But, as was his duty, he immediately communicated the second report to Washington, who was within twenty minutes' ride, and asked instructions. Washington ordered a temporary suspension. He subsequently declared that Sullivan would have failed in his duty if he had acted otherwise. The original information, however, was again confirmed and Sullivan made the new front required. His position was isolated and without supports. It was the common story of American forces, many of them raw troops, outnumbered three to one by the disciplined forces of Britain led by such generals as Cornwallis and Howe. Some parts of the American line gave way, but as quickly did Sullivan, if failing to rally them, place himself in other divisions. More than once were the British driven back from the well-chosen position. Sullivan's activity and skill were everywhere visible. "His uniform bravery, coolness, and intrepidity," wrote one of Lord Stirling's staff, "both in the heat of battle, rallying and forming the troops when broke from their ranks, appeared to me to be truly consistent with, or rather exceeded, any idea I had ever of the greatest soldier." For an hour and a half his troops held the high ground, and at sunset, some hours later, although retreating, they were still holding the enemy, until relieved by Washington. The British lost nearly six hundred men.

Upon the representations of a congressman inimi-

cal to General Sullivan, who had ridden out toward the battle, congress in a moment of anger, and without the slightest examination, ordered Sullivan's suspension from command. To this vote Washington returned a curt, sharp remonstrance. He knew that Sullivan had not failed in his duty. Congress, upon a statement of facts, rescinded its order, with but two dissenting votes. It is worthy of note that the congressman who thus maligned a brave soldier was subsequently, while governor of a Southern state, taken prisoner by the British; being allowed certain liberties on parole, he broke that parole, and that the people of his state, at the next election, on that account defeated him.

The battle at Germantown occurred October 4, 1777. General Sullivan here led two divisions, and succeeded in the attack committed to him, driving the enemy from their positions. The failure of divisions upon his left, however, made it eventually necessary for the commander-in-chief to order a retreat. It is sufficient to notice that in his report to congress Washington says, "In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor."

General Sullivan passed the winter in the sufferings of Valley Forge, but on the 17th of April, 1778, he was assigned to command of the operations in Rhode Island, most of which was then held

by the British, who occupied a strongly fortified position at Newport. It was expected, in time, that with the coöperation of the French fleet under d'Estaing, who could also furnish a land force of four thousand men, Newport could be reduced. General Sullivan's headquarters were at first at Providence. In the course of the season, additional troops were sent to him, militia called in, and special enlistments made, in which New Hampshire did its part. This gave him a force of ten thousand men, in two divisions respectively under Greene and Lafayette.

"Nothing can give me more pleasure," wrote Lafayette in advance, "than to go under your orders; and it is with the greatest happiness that I see my wishes on that point entirely satisfied. I both love and esteem you; therefore the moment we shall fight together will be extremely pleasant and agreeable to me."

The French fleet came, but departed; it came back, but it sailed away. A strong English fleet came to Newport, and the two fleets looked at each other but did not fight.

The disappointment to the Americans was intense. Sullivan moved alone to within two miles of Newport, but its strong works plainly defied capture. He fell back to Butt's Hill and made sufficient entrenchments. The enemy followed, and attacked Sullivan on the 29th of August. The action was declared by Lafayette to be one of the most hotly contested during the war. The Americans numbered but five thousand, of whom only fif-

teen hundred had ever been under fire.[1] The number of the forces was about equal. British vessels fired upon Sullivan's lines, to cover an intended flank movement, but were driven off by the sharp fire of Sullivan's guns, which took position for the purpose. The British tried to turn the flanks of the Americans, but in vain. They made repeated charges, always to be driven back. Sullivan's watchful eye was upon every part of the contest, and he moved battalions where their support was needed. In addition to early cannonading, the battle lasted seven hours. The British then gave up the contest. History says that they lost one thousand men in that engagement. It was a brilliant success for the American arms.

With the advice of his officers Sullivan fell back, and without disturbance, to the northern end of the island, and eventually crossed over to the main land. His forces were diminishing by the departure of the militia. His evacuation was in perfect order. He left nothing of his equipment behind, nor any sick or wounded. Criticism has failed to find any reasonable cause of complaint against Sullivan's military operations here; it has found nothing except his rather impulsive expressions of disgust at the failure of the French admiral. But he was of Irish blood.

Samuel Adams wrote of this campaign as follows:

"General Sullivan behaved as usual with bravery . . . This unforeseen and unavoidable accident

[1] I am happy to be the grandson of one who served under Sullivan in this campaign.

left him too much inferior to the British squadron to run the risk with any degree of prudence. Our cause is not dishonored, though we did not succeed to our wishes."

On the 17th of September it was resolved by congress, "that the retreat made by Major-General Sullivan, with the troops under his command, from Rhode Island, was prudent, timely, and well conducted, and that congress highly approves the same," and "that the thanks of congress be given to Major-General Sullivan, and to the officers and troops under his command, for their fortitude and bravery displayed in the action of August 29, in which they repulsed the British forces and maintained the field." The thanks of the legislature of New Hampshire were also presented to him, and President Weare, in communicating the vote, wrote, "It is with particular pleasure, sir, that I enclose to you a copy of the vote of the General Court of this, your native state, by which you will see the sense the people here have of your merit and good conduct in that important command." The general assembly of Rhode Island also subsequently gave its thanks in warm and glowing language.

General Sullivan remained in command at Rhode Island until the following spring. Then came his assignment to the work of chastising the Indians in the Susquehanna Valley, and of dealing a blow at their power which would guard the frontier settlements from such atrocities as had befallen Wyoming in the preceding year. British soldiers, Tories, and Indians were in combination. The

British government was employing the savages in this infamous warfare. Congress directed Washington to provide for the work of chastisement. The orders were severe: the country was to be laid waste. General Sullivan was given four brigades, with artillery and riflemen. After much trouble in obtaining from the Congressional Board of Supplies suitable rations, he marched into the heart of the Indian country. In General Poor's New Hampshire brigade were the First, Second, and Third regiments, commanded respectively by Colonel Joseph Cilley, Lieutenant-Colonel George Reid, and Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Dearborn. The march was skilfully managed. General N. P. Banks once said to me, regarding a disastrous expedition, "I did not suppose that I had to tell an educated general that he ought to throw out flankers." General Sullivan understood his work. On the 29th of August, 1773, his scouts reported the existence of a somewhat disguised defensive work. He waited no longer than to ascertain its exact character, for the moment keeping the enemy busy by skirmishers' fire. Defenses had been constructed on elevated ground in the gap, the right protected by a river, the left by a mountain, with a deep brook in front of the work.

The force of Indians, Tories, and British soldiers within, under command of the Indian, Joseph Brant, and the infamous Colonel John Butler, has been estimated at from twelve to fifteen hundred. They comprised the available force of the five nations who had resolved here to make their stand. Sulli-

van decided promptly upon his plan of action. He placed his artillery along the centre, well supported by infantry, but the guns were to hold their fire till the proper signal. The New Hampshire brigade, supported by Clinton's, was to take the hill upon the enemy's left, and turn their flank. The plan was carried out. The New Hampshire brigade had to pass through a morass, and then fight its way up the hill, which was strongly held by the Indians, who availed themselves of every tree. The riflemen on the flank fired, but Poor's brigade used Sullivan's favorite weapon—the bayonet. The enemy attempted to turn the right of the attacking column, but was promptly met. The hill was carried, and the combined fire of artillery and musketry in front and flank broke the enemy. How great was their loss was never known, beside the few dead, which they left upon the field. Their wounded, at least, had been taken away, but the bloody evidences of serious loss were visible. Pursuit was made for several miles. One of our own severely wounded was Major Benjamin Titcomb, of Dover.

Sullivan carried out his orders throughout that country. Not a fruit-tree or a cornstalk was left standing. Immense quantities of supplies were destroyed. Not a roof-tree was left, from the Genesee valley to the Susquehanna. Some writers have condemned this severity; but they forget the murders of Wyoming. "Washington gave General Sullivan orders," said General W. T. Sherman, "to come here and punish the Six Nations for their

cruel massacre in the valley of the Wyoming, and to make it so severe that it would not occur again. And he did so. General Sullivan obeyed his orders like a man and like a soldier, and the result was, from that time forward, your people settled up these beautiful valleys."

Upon receiving the report of the expedition, General Washington wrote to Congress, "I congratulate Congress on his (General Sullivan's) having completed so effectually the destruction of the whole of the towns and settlements of the hostile Indians in so short a time and with so inconsiderable a loss of men." He wrote to Lafayette, rejoicing that the tribes had had "proofs that Great Britain cannot protect them, and it is in our power to chastise them." Washington also officially "congratulated the army on the complete and full success of Major-General Sullivan and the troops under his command, against the Senecas and other tribes of the Six Nations, as a just and necessary punishment for their wanton depredations, their unparalleled and innumerable cruelties, and their deafness to all entreaties." Congress, October 14, 1779, adopted strong resolutions of thanks to General Washington for ordering, and to General Sullivan and his brave officers and soldiers for effectually executing, the expedition.

This was General Sullivan's last military service. On the 9th of November, 1779, he tendered his resignation to Congress. He gave as the reason, the impairment of his health and the advice of his physicians. It is not unlikely, however, that ill treat-

ment which he had received from Congress and its boards may have made his position far from agreeable. Perhaps, also, the most absolute destitution of his family affected him. He had told his agent early in the war not to demand moneys due him which were out upon interest, because it might work hardship. With small pay, and that in a depreciated currency, he had used up his earlier accumulations in the support of his family and himself. "I have not clothes sufficient for another campaign," he wrote nearly two years before, "nor will my pay enable me to purchase." His resignation was accepted a month after it was given, although a large minority desired to substitute leave of absence, which was prevented by the votes of Pennsylvania and Virginia. A vote was passed, presenting him the thanks of Congress for his services.

General Sullivan had violent enemies in Congress. It was, perhaps, partly due to his impulsive freedom of speech, which was natural in view of his own temperament and of the frequent inefficiency of that body. Soldiers do not often like civilian management of military affairs, and especially of campaigns. It was nothing to his discredit that some of these men disliked him. Many of them had tried to drive from the army General Greene, than whom no one made a more brilliant record. A large number were inimical to Washington himself, whose military ability John Adams sharply disparaged. I am not sure but that sectional differences affected Sullivan's position.

There were at that period boasts which have been familiar with this generation. Sullivan was not the man to endure imputations upon New England courage. "I have been much pleased to see a day approaching," he wrote to Meshech Weare, February 13, 1777, "to try the difference between Yankee cowardice and Southern valor. The day, or rather the days, have arrived." He insisted that the Northern troops were the strength of the army. "All the general officers allow them to be the best of troops. The Southern officers and soldiers allow it in time of danger, but not at all other times." The same spirit was not absent from Congress.

Perhaps some members of Congress had not forgotten that Generals Sullivan, Greene, and Knox had once sent a memorial to Congress regarding the expected placing over them of a Frenchman, who was not considered competent; and that the demand of Congress that Washington should require an apology for its insulted dignity had been silently ignored.

But Washington, to whom Sullivan had always been an attached and faithful friend, expressed his feelings and opinions in a letter to Sullivan, when he was about to leave the service:

"I flatter myself it is unnecessary for me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced, and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions, testify the value I set upon your military qualifications and the regret I must feel that circumstances have deprived the

army of your services. The pleasure I shall always take in an interchange of good offices in whatever station you may hereafter be placed will be the best confirmation of the personal regard with which I have been and am, very sincerely and truly, dear sir," etc.

With the record of John Sullivan's services before us, it seems strange that any historian should deny his military capacity. One writer has, however, done so. An examination of his work shows that his bitter prejudices are not confined to Sullivan alone. Reasonless partisanship is the habit of his mind. So far as Sullivan is concerned, it would be easy to show that the writer in question omits to give him credit for military service when it seems to have required an effort to avoid it; that when two interpretations are possible, he invariably chooses the unfavorable one; and that he makes statements as to military action which can be prevented from being stigmatized as untruths only by attributing them to an obvious incapacity to understand military principles. The work of that writer exhibits equal power in gorgeous rhetoric and unbounded vituperation.

A careful observer of Sullivan's military career will find that he was a proficient student in military science and in the history of war; that he was passionately fond of military exercise, in the simple parts of which he was well versed in his youth; that he came to exhibit a thorough knowledge of what was required, not only in marches and in fortifications, but also in the selection of positions for

battle and in the disposition of troops to meet the demand of the hour; that he was fearless of danger and inspired enthusiasm among his men; that upon the field he never lost presence of mind or readiness of command, or promptness in movements to meet instant emergencies; and that he was entrusted by Washington with independent operations of a high order. In fact, I believe we find but one instance of any battle in which Washington was personally with Sullivan's division. When a real history of the War of the Revolution shall be written, Sullivan's position as a soldier will not depend upon high-sounding phrases of partisan and inflated prejudice. It will justify the opinion of George Washington.

The state had need of him. In the spring of 1780, the President of the Council and the Speaker of the House were appointed to wait upon him and give the congratulations of the General Court at his safe return and recovery of health; and also "give him the thanks for his good services." It followed this expression by appointing him, June 21, a delegate to Congress, to which he was reappointed January 19, 1781. When he thus entered Congress with the warm friendship of Washington, it might have been a moment of exultation. But he was too magnanimous and patriotic to cherish grudges. Experienced, able, and active, he was remarkably useful. In November, 1780, he was on a committee to draft an urgent appeal to the several states for renewed help to the cause. In consultation with Washington he succeeded in carrying through

a reorganization of the army departments, the system of promotions, and the establishment of honorable positions for veteran officers, being chairman of the committee to consult with Washington upon this important subject. He procured the rescinding of all rules which allowed others than the commander-in-chief or heads of departments to grant furloughs. He was on the committee to discuss the question of clothing for the soldiers. He was chairman of the committee which, in 1781, having full power in connection with Washington, removed the difficulties with the Pennsylvania line, which threatened the destruction of the army. He favored giving greatly increased powers to the commander-in-chief, as a military necessity. He favored a well-disciplined army, on long terms of enlistment. He aided in having his old comrade, General Greene, sent to command in the South. He supported the great change by which single secretaries or ministers were substituted for clumsy Congressional boards, in the case of foreign relations, finance, and war; and against the strenuous opposition of Samual Adams, a member of one of the boards. When the minister of finance was to be chosen, he proposed to Washington the name of Alexander Hamilton for his opinion. Washington replied, speaking in high terms of Mr. Hamilton in general, but saying that he had not conversed with that gentleman on questions of finance.

When the election took place, General Sullivan wrote to Washington, "After I wrote I found the eyes of Congress turned upon Robert Morris as

financier. I did not, therefore, nominate Colonel Hamilton, as I foresaw it would be a vain attempt." But when Washington became president, he at once verified Sullivan's instinct by placing Hamilton at the head of the treasury. General Sullivan was chairman of the Finance Committee, and he sustained Morris in the creation of a national bank, of which gold and silver should be the basis. He helped frame also an act for the redemption of the depreciated currency at a fixed ratio. This committee had to consider the whole condition of the finances, and recommend a reorganization of the system. Its reports were generally accepted. He was on the committee which considered the whole question of the Western lands, the cession of which began while he was in Congress. Early in 1781 he was upon a committee "to devise ways and means to carry on the present campaign." He favored trusting the eminent commissioners who were appointed to negotiate a peace, without strict instructions. Such were some of the services rendered during his continuance in Congress, from which he retired by his own act.

Returning, from necessity, to professional life, General Sullivan was still called to office. He was appointed attorney-general June 24, 1782, and held the office until he declined a reëlection in February, 1786, being in that year a candidate for another office to which he was elected. It is remarkable that his distinguished son, George Sullivan, who also was sent to Congress, held the same office for twenty-one years, and that John

Sullivan, son of George, an equally brilliant orator, was also attorney-general for thirteen years, dying in office.[1] In 1782 he was delegate from Durham to the Constitutional Convention, which was in existence from 1781 to 1783, and whose third attempt to make a constitution satisfactory to the people was successful.

In 1781 to 1782 there were many signs of trouble in the towns bordering on, or near to, the Connecticut river. New Hampshire had exercised jurisdiction over those towns, and the Legislature voted to raise one thousand men for the purpose of enforcing its claims; and January 11, 1782, it appointed General Sullivan to command this force. It does not appear that anything more became needed than the authority of the courts, which was finally established. The crisis, perhaps, came at Keene in October of that year, when the firmness of the court and the marked power of Sullivan (then holding the office of attorney-general) over men were completely successful. Doubtless his influence over many of his old companions in arms had much to do with the result when he assumed the old sword, which he was now entitled again to wear, by virtue of the vote of the General Court—as recorded by Plumer.

In 1783 General Sullivan was made the first president of the New Hampshire branch of the Cincinnati, of which Washington was president-general. He was the first Grand Master of the

[1] Two sons of the last named reside in Boston: John, who served as surgeon in the late War of the Rebellion, and Edward, a lawyer.

New Hampshire Grand Lodge of Free Masons, chosen July 8, 1789, having been received in St. John's Lodge, Portsmouth, N. H., March 19, 1767, and made a Master Mason December 28, 1768.

In 1784 he was appointed major-general of the militia, and served until he became president. He entered into the duties of this office with great energy, issued an address to the people, in behalf of an active interest in developing the system, and published a volume of regulations for the forces of the state; and he took frequent occasions to review the different corps.

In 1785 he was a member of the Assembly, from Durham. He was speaker of the House in that year, and also a member of the Council, which offices were then not incompatible. His participation in legislation is found in almost every measure of importance.[1] Impost duties, post roads, taxes, military organization, the relation of the state to the general government, the revision of laws, are some of the subjects in which he helped to shape legislation.

In 1786 he was again chosen speaker, but served only two days, as he was chosen president of the state, as the governor was then designated; and thus became "captain-general, commander-in-chief, and admiral" of the army and navy of New Hampshire, titles which, I believe, His Excellency still bears.

[1] I must express my great indebtedness, and the indebtedness of the people of this state, to Hon. A. S. Batchellor, for his skill in compiling and editing the State Records, whose publication he superintends. The volumes, as prepared by him are indispensable to a student of New Hampshire history.

It was during this first year of his administration that an insurrectionary spirit showed itself in New Hampshire, coincident with what was called Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. There were, undoubtedly, distressed conditions among the people. The exhaustion caused by the War of the Revolution had not ceased. The consequences of the terribly depreciated continental currency necessarily affected the public welfare for many years. President Sullivan had, as chairman of the Finance Committee in Congress, regarded gold and silver as the necessary basis of all currency. But whether so or not, it was his duty to preserve public order. Classes of people bitterly complained. "The public securities," they said, "were engrossed by rich speculators, and the poor were distressed for the means of paying their taxes and their private debts. The cry for paper money was incessant." Such was the record of Jeremy Belknap. "They raised a cry for paper money, an equal distribution of property, and a release from debt."

When the legislature was in session at Exeter, September 20, 1785, a tolerably well organized company of several hundred armed men surrounded the building where the legislature was in session, to coerce that body into compliance with their demands. As many as pleased entered the house, and demanded action according to their request. The president, who in those days presided over the Council, which was practically the Senate, explained the situation in a calm and dignified speech, and informed the mob that no action whatever would

be taken under such an attempt to coerce. Toward night the legislature requested President Sullivan to provide for its defense and liberty. Samuel Adams, son of Col. Winborne Adams, who had been a lieutenant under General Sullivan in his Iroquois campaign, was now one of his military staff. When morning dawned it found several companies of militia infantry, a squadron of cavalry and some light artillery drawn up in proper order for action. The insurgents, at first threatening to resist, were dispersed by a section of the light horsemen. Some of the leaders were arrested and bound over to appear in court. The policy of the president, however, having maintained the laws, secured lenity, and all the misguided men were eventually discharged. "Our General Sullivan," wrote Belknap, in one of his letters, "behaved with great prudence, firmness, and despatch, and success crowned his exertions."

General Sullivan was again chosen president in 1787. It was during this year of administration that he wrote to Belknap as follows:

"The credit of the state, which has been sunk to the lowest mark, has now arisen to a height almost beyond conception. Our deranged finances are restored to order; and orders upon our treasury now pass equal with silver and gold. This, sir, was owing to some acts which I procured to be passed, but not without great opposition, the good effects of which are now sensibly felt, and begin to be universally acknowledged."

At the election in 1788, there was no choice of

president by the people, and John Langdon, who had previously been a candidate, was chosen by the Senate. General Sullivan, however, represented Durham in the Assembly, and was unanimously chosen speaker. The loss of the higher office had also been far more than made up by his choice to still another; and perhaps the fact of the second influenced the people to divide their honors.

On the 13th of February, 1788, a convention of deputies met at Exeter to consider whether New Hampshire would ratify the proposed constitution of the United States. It was a meeting of vast importance. The hopes and fears as to the adoption of that constitution had been alternating in many states. In that convention, John Sullivan represented the town of Durham, and he was chosen its president.

"The convention, when assembled to the amount of one hundred," wrote Sullivan in a private letter,[1] "stood thus: Seventy against, and thirty for, the new constitution. However, the good cause gained ground, and when we adjourned, I think that a majority was in favor; but as about thirty who were bound by instruction to vote against the plan, had, through the preaching of Doctor Langdon and others, become real converts, it was thought best to have an adjournment that they might go home and obtain liberty to act their own judgment, and I doubt not but it will then be received by a large majority."

[1] Belknap papers, Mass. Hist. Society's Proceedings. Sixth series, Vol. IV.

Mr. Joseph B. Walker, in his history of the North Church, in Concord, where it held its second session, well says that the "Federal trio," John Sullivan, John Langdon, and Samuel Livermore, could not be equaled by any other three members of the convention. He gives to Mr. Livermore, then chief justice, the credit, and doubtless correctly, of being the most powerful man in argument upon the floor. The personal character and sound judgment of Mr. Langdon (who was soon to be sent to the United States Senate, and become the first presiding officer of that body) must have given him a strong influence. To General Sullivan's enthusiastic intensity of purpose, was doubtless added his skill in public address, and his remarkable ability in political administration. When, after reassembling, the vote was carried, June 21, 1788, fifty-seven in favor to forty-seven against, it was seen that each of these men had been indispensable. But General Knox, then Secretary of War, wrote to Sullivan from New York: "Your friends attribute much of the success in your state to your unremitted exertions, and hope that your country will eminently reward your patriotism."

To sit in that chair and declare that vote, carried so largely by his own personal influence, might almost be regarded as the crowning privilege of the life of John Sullivan. To make the new constitution operative, required the assent of nine states. There were division and doubt in many parts of the land. If the proposal should

fail, the country would be thrown back into the helplessness of the old confederation. But New Hampshire, in which had been the first armed resistance to the king of Great Britain, and which had been the first of the provinces to establish a state government, now made the ninth state. By that act, the constitution was made operative, and the United States came into being. No mind could then have prophesied the future growth, prosperity, and glory of the great Republic. But it was a sublime moment when that vote was declared. John Sullivan may have been pardoned if the words of Livius, in 1777, had come back to his mind: "You were the first man in active rebellion, and drew with you the province you live in. You will be one of the first sacrifices to the resentment and justice of government." And now he was privileged to declare, as the chosen leader of New Hampshire, the one specific vote which created a nation.

At the first election for president of the United States, General Sullivan was chosen one of the electors for the state of New Hampshire. He had thus the privilege of casting his vote for his old commander in the field, whom he had always loved, and who had always trusted him.

At the next election, that of 1789, he was again chosen president of the state. He served during his year, and at its close the legislature appointed a committee "to return the thanks of the General Court to his Excellency President Sullivan for his services while president of this state."[1]

[1] Harvard College conferred upon him the degree of master of arts in 1780, and Dartmouth that of doctor of laws in 1789.

But before the expiration of the year, President Washington had appointed him the first judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire. The personal letter of Washington, dated September 30, 1789, enclosing the commission, says, "In my nomination of persons to fill office in the judicial department, I have been guided by the importance of the object, considering it of the first magnitude and the pillar upon which our political fabric must rest. I have endeavored to bring into the high offices of its administration such characters as will give stability and dignity to our national government."

Such was Washington's estimate of John Sullivan.

He died in this his last public office, but he had not long been upon the bench when his health began to fail. The old hardships had left their impress. Not only did his physical strength decay, but his mental powers also failed. The president, however, would not have him removed from office, although for two or three years he was unable to attend to his duties.

I would gladly recall traditions which have floated down through the century, of John Sullivan's dashing boldness and almost personal recklessness in the field, which won the admiration of his soldiers, such as have come to us from our ancestors who served in the army of the Revolution,—as did four of mine; of the brilliancy in speech which perhaps came with his Irish blood; of his generous and perhaps lavish kindness to

those who were in need; of his fidelity to his friends; of the personal magnetism which swayed men, and especially the common people. But these things do not come into the purpose for which I gratefully acknowledge the honor given to me by the Governor and Council of our state.

On the 23d of January, 1795, he died in his home on yonder terraced slope which reaches down to the river, where he loved to see the ebb and flow of the tides, which went and came at the will of the ocean.

It was a hundred years ago, but where we stand has a double history. Two hundred years ago, in a warm morning of July 18, 1694, the musket and the tomahawk of the savage did its deadly work around these falls and up and down the sides of this now tranquil river. Sorrow and anguish were in almost every home, for on that terrible day nearly one hundred persons had been killed within the sound of a musket shot from where we stand, or led into hopeless captivity in Canada. Such was the discipline which prepared the generations here for the stern war of the Revolution.

On yonder beautiful height, within the stone wall and its iron gate, in the family burying-ground which lies in the rich mowing land, are various graves. Inscriptions mark the resting-place of the emigrant, who lived to the age of one hundred and four, and of his wife Margery. But there are also found the simple stones which stand at the graves of John Sullivan, and Lydia, his wife. These stones are amply sufficient for their purpose. But

our state needed to erect its own memorial to the patriot, soldier, and statesman. It has wisely placed that memorial where youth shall see it, and upon the spot connected by its history with the opening of the war of the Revolution. The state has delayed for nearly one hundred years, but if, as tradition says, the burial in that winter day was so quiet and simple that people wondered, the governor, who is in the line which follows, now comes in the name of the state and by its order, to express the love and honor in which New Hampshire has always held the memory of John Sullivan.

The exercises of the morning in the tent were immediately followed by the solemn and impressive ceremony of dedication by the Masonic brotherhood. The Grand Lodge of New Hampshire was ably represented by M. W. Grand Master Charles Carroll Hayes of Manchester; R. W. Deputy Grand Master Henry Augustus Marsh of Nashua; R. W. Senior Grand Warden John McLane of Milford; R. W. Junior Grand Warden George Isaac McAllister of Manchester; R. W. Grand Treasurer Joseph Kidder of Manchester; R. W. Grand Secretary George Perley Cleaves of Concord; R. W. Grand Chaplain Rev. Daniel C. Roberts, D. D., of Concord; W. Senior Grand Deacon Bradford S. Kingman of Newmarket; W. Junior Grand Deacon Henry B. Quinby of Laconia; W. Grand Marshal Charles C. Danforth of Concord; W. Grand Pursuivants Joseph E. Knight of Exeter, and Channing Folsom of Dover.

THE CEREMONY.

Grand Master.—From time immemorial it has been the custom of the Masonic fraternity, when requested so to do, to lay the corner-stone of public edifices, especially those designed for the worship of God, and to consecrate with appropriate ceremonies such structures as are of general public interest to the communities where the same are located. We have therefore accepted the invitation to dedicate this monument, and, in assuming the duty imposed upon us, we may show our respect to the state, and our appreciation of the obligations we are under to the man whose memory we have assembled to honor. Among the first lessons taught by our ritual are dependence of the creature upon the Creator, and the duty of imploring His assistance in all our undertakings. In obedience to those instructions, let us join with our Grand Chaplain in invoking the blessing of God upon the exercises in which we are about to engage.

Prayer by the Grand Chaplain, Rev. Daniel C. Roberts, D. D.:

"Supreme Architect of the Universe, thou dost build into the walls of the holy temple, wherein thy presence dwells, the lives of thy servants whom thou hast endowed with light and leading.

Squared by the square of virtue, polished by the grand disciplines of arduous life, upright in the nobility of a righteous manhood, and tried by the plumb-line of rectitude and truth, they stand, stal-

wart and true, on the level of the great brotherhood of the servants of God.

We praise thy holy name with thankful hearts, because thou hast wrought, by the hands of thy servant whom we commemorate to-day, and his comrades, wise and brave, to create and establish a nation consecrated to liberty, justice, and equal rights. Give us grace and light to follow in their footsteps, to take up, in our day and generation, the burden and the duty bequeathed to us by our fathers, along with the blessing of freedom. May no injustice or unrighteousness tarnish the splendor of the name of our country, or the fame of our heroic sires. May this massive witness of our devotion to the cause of freedom, justice, and truth, which we dedicate in thy name and presence, to the glory of God, and the sacred memory of our illustrious brother, stand, a monument and testimony to the fidelity of one man to the loftiest principles of political and military virtue, and to the consecration of each oncoming generation to the glory of thy name, the honor of our country, and the brotherhood of man.

May the society of Free Masons, which crowns this work to-day, remain steadfast and true, dedicated to righteousness, justice, freedom, and love, and consecrated as thy holy temple on the heights of Zion was consecrated, by the presence of Him whose name is life, whose ineffable glory dwelt in glorious light between the cherubim.

We ask these blessings in the name of David's Son and David's Lord. Amen."

Grand Master.—Brother Deputy Grand Master, What is the proper jewel of your office?

Deputy Grand Master.—The square.

Grand Master.—What does it teach?

Deputy Grand Master.—To square our actions by the square of virtue, and by it we prove our work.

Grand Master.—Apply your jewel to this monument, and make report.

Deputy Grand Master.—The work is square. The craftsmen have done their duty.

Grand Master.—Brother Senior Grand Warden, what is the jewel of your office?

Senior Grand Warden.—The level.

Grand Master.—What does it teach?

Senior Grand Warden.—The equality of all men, and by it we prove our work.

Grand Master.—Apply your jewel to this monument, and make report.

Senior Grand Warden.—The work is level. The craftsmen have done their duty.

Grand Master.—Brother Junior Grand Warden, what is the jewel of your office?

Junior Grand Warden.—The plumb.

Grand Master.—What does it teach?

Junior Grand Warden.—To walk uprightly before God and man, and by it we prove our work.

Grand Master.—Apply your jewel to this monument, and make report.

Junior Grand Warden.—The work is plumb. The craftsmen have done their duty.

The Grand Master, striking the monument three times with the gavel, said:

"Well made, well proved, true and trusty. This undertaking has been conducted and completed by the craftsmen according to the grand plan, in peace, harmony, and brotherly love."

The Deputy Grand Master received from the Grand Marshal the vessel of corn, and, pouring the corn, said:

"May the health of the community which has executed this undertaking be preserved, and may the Supreme Grand Architect bless and prosper its labors."

The Grand Marshal presented the cup of wine to the Senior Grand Warden, who poured the wine, saying:

"May plenty be vouchsafed to the people of this state, and may the blessing of the Bounteous Giver of all things attend all its philanthropic and patriotic undertakings."

The Grand Marshal presented the cup of oil to the Junior Grand Warden, who poured the oil, saying:

"May the Supreme Ruler of the world preserve this people in peace, and grant to them the enjoyment of every blessing."

The Grand Chaplain pronounced the following invocation:

"May corn, wine, and oil, and all the necessaries of life abound among men throughout the world; and may this structure long remain in the beauty and strength of the brotherly love for the departed, to whose memory it has now been consecrated."

Grand Master.—Brother Grand Marshal, you

will make proclamation that this monument has been duly consecrated in accordance with ancient form and usage.

Grand Marshal.—In the name of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge of the State of New Hampshire, I now proclaim that the monument here erected by the state has this day been found square, level, and plumb, true and trusty, and consecrated according to the ancient forms of Masons.

This proclamation is made from the East, the West, the South,—once, twice, thrice. All interested will take due notice thereof.

ADDRESS OF CHARLES C. HAYES, THE M. W. GRAND MASTER.

Having accepted the joint invitation from the Governor and Council and the town of Durham, we have assembled to-day, on this memorable occasion, as officers of the Most Worshipful Grand Lodge, representing the Ancient and Honorable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons in New Hampshire, to dedicate, according to ancient form and custom, this monument erected by the state and town to perpetuate the memory of one of the great heroes in the early history of our state and country. Fully appreciating the great honor which was conferred by this invitation, I desire, in behalf of the officers of the Grand Lodge and the entire Masonic fraternity of New Hampshire, to express our pleasure and our sincere thanks for the privilege of being present at this time, and for the opportunity of performing the solemn and impres-

sive ceremony of our order. It is not only proper, but eminently fitting that Masons should perform this duty, and I feel that there will be no infringement of the rules of propriety when I say that no other order could or should have been invited to perform this work, for the reason that the man in whose honor this granite shaft has been erected was a prominent and distinguished Mason. His love for the order, and his recognized abilities caused the brethren to confer upon him the highest honor in their power, by choosing him as the first Grand Master of Masons in New Hampshire. He was active and earnest in the cause of Masonry because he thoroughly and conscientiously believed in its principles and was always ready to do his part in binding together, with the golden chain of brotherly love and affection, the God-fearing and liberty-loving men of his time and generation.

Like George Washington and nearly all of the patriots and great leaders of the Revolutionary period, he was a Mason because love of country and the principles of Freemasonry are inseparable. When we read the history of his life, and find that he possessed all the attributes of a just and upright man, one who was true to himself and true to his country, working always for that which was best, it would have been strange indeed had he not sought a Masonic lodge, knocked at the door, passed within the portals, and in due time been able to claim the proud title of Master Mason. He was not only distinguished as a Mason, but as a soldier, jurist, and statesman, whose life and deeds

form a bright page in the history of our beloved state and country, and we are proud to claim him as a New Hampshire man. He honored the state and the state honored him. He honored Masonry and was honored by Masonry.

As we behold this monument, cut from the granite quarries of our own state, plain, yet solid and substantial, typical of the life and character of the man in whose honor it has been erected, we are reminded of the deeds of valor and heroism performed by John Sullivan and his loyal associates, thereby making it possible for us to enjoy the blessings of a free and independent people. His life, his character, and his fame should be an inspiration to the youth of the present day, and should teach them to love their country, to maintain and support its free institutions, and to defend its flag against the assault of any and all enemies. "The lapse of time, the ruthless hand of ignorance, or the devastations of war" may lay waste and destroy this monument around which we are now gathered, but so long as governments shall stand and history shall be read, so long will the name inscribed on its face be cherished in the hearts of patriotic people the world over. All honor to the memory of General and Brother John Sullivan.

THE AFTERNOON.

The exercises were continued in the afternoon without apparent loss of interest. It was a Sullivan day. From morning until evening the successive eulogies were spoken with the force of

conviction, and were received with the enthusiasm of warm approval. In complimentary terms the president of the day introduced Amos Hadley, Ph. D., of Concord, president of the New Hampshire Historical Society; Hon. William E. Chandler of Concord, United States senator; Hon. Henry W. Blair of Manchester, ex-senator and representative in congress; ex-Governor Frederick Smyth of Manchester; ex-Governor Benjamin F. Prescott of Epping; Hon. John C. Linehan of Concord, insurance commissioner; Patrick H. Sullivan, Esq., of Manchester; and Col. Daniel Hall of Dover. The remarks of Governor Prescott and Governor Smyth were extemporaneous, and only a portion of Governor Smyth's address has been preserved.

MR. HADLEY'S ADDRESS.

The New Hampshire Historical Society, which I have the honor of representing on this occasion, has alway smanifested a duly sensitive interest in conserving the fair fame of John Sullivan. Its remonstrances against historical injustice to his memory have not been ineffectual in rectifying errors, which, it may be hoped, will not be perpetuated by future historians.

The life of this son of an Irish schoolmaster was not a long one, running, as it did, only to midway in the fifties. The years of his active career were only thirty ; but abundant was their harvest of achievement.

At the age of twenty, with silver or gold none, but with talents ample and versatile ; with a gen-

eral education,—well-nigh liberal,—conducted by a learned father, and a professional one directed by a Livermore, John Sullivan entered upon the practice of the law, here in storied Durham, and within thirteen years, by his ability and eloquence, won proud eminence at the bar, with a consequent generous competence of estate.

His keen sagacity, his independent spirit, his strong and resolute manliness, impelled him, from the first, to resist, by word and deed, the growing tyranny of Britain, and made him foremost in the counsels of the patriots. At thirty-three, he sits in the first Continental Congress; returning thence, ready, on the eventful 13th of December, 1774, to lead in America's first overt act of organized armed resistance to England, to secure for Liberty's use the arms and ammunition of a royal fort defiantly dismantled. Again, one day in May, 1775, his commanding form is seen erect among his colleagues of the Congress, his brilliant black eye flashing brighter in the excitement of debate, his deep, sweet, flexible voice impressively intoned, as he opposes a truckling motion for a second address to a scornful king, "in a strain of wit, fluency, and eloquence, unusual even for him, filling with dismay those who favored reconciliation." So says John Adams, who heard him. Oh, for a *Congressional Record* with that speech,—all aglow with "liberty or death,"—in it! But alas! that publication is of modern date, and we must flounder, instead, through the interminable quagmires of tariff reform debate.

Resistance, resistance even to war, as the inevitable solution of the questions at issue, had long been his thought. And that thought tallied with a natural military taste, which led the active and robust young man to acquaint himself with the theory and practice of the military art. He saw security for the people's rights in military training, and he practised it with his neighbors. In fine, his example, in all things, was an inspiration to the maintenance of American liberty, at all hazards; and no other man did so much to brace up New Hampshire to the war point as did John Sullivan.

And the war has come. The same Congress, that with divine foresight has made Washington commander-in-chief, has discerned in the bold, sagacious, and eloquent member from New Hampshire, the stuff of which great generals are made. Sullivan will honor his high commission; will fully vindicate the trust reposed in his ability, and gloriously fight out his five years of severe, unremitting duty in arms. He will be found in the Siege of Boston, alert and active, on the American left, and nearest the enemy; moreover, he shall, within ten days, to the joyful relief of Washington, fill with 2,000 freshly enlisted men of New Hampshire, the dangerous gap in the investing line, left by Connecticut troops, whose "time is out." Next year, he shall save, by consummate generalship, the demoralized, pestilence-stricken army of Canada, in face of an exultantly pursuing foe; and, later, he shall, by timely movements and effective feats, help Washington retrieve the disastrous year by

the Christmas victories of Trenton and Princeton. Again, at Brandywine and Germantown, he shall have occasion,—and will gallantly improve it,—to manifest his characteristic valor, impetuous but stubborn, and ready to breast the mightiest swell of fortune's adverse tide. Next, the Rhode Island expedition, with its Battle of Butt's Hill,—pronounced by Lafayette, "the best fought action of the war,"—and with its masterly retreat, shall test, as by refining fire, the pure gold of military capacity. Finally, it seeming good to Congress and the commander-in-chief to enforce in the valleys of the Chemung and Genesee, condign reprisal upon the mischievous Six Nations, and their worse allies, the Tories, for Wyoming's dire massacre, and like red-handed deeds of savage war, the execution of this purpose shall be committed to our well-tried New Hampshire general. Though the undertaking be tedious and difficult, he will conduct it to complete success, in an arduous campaign, to be his last, and which the Empire State shall, a century later, gratefully commemorate by a sightly monument, reared upon the battle-ground of Newtown, and bearing the honored name of Sullivan.

Now, in a touching letter to Washington, he is compelled to say: "I am under the painful necessity of leaving a service to which I am by principle and interest attached. My health is too much impaired to be recovered, but by a total release from business." So he resigns his commission, and returns to his Durham home, and to his family, which has always had its share of his affectionate

solicitude. He brings with him into retirement the affectionate regrets of the commander-in-chief, who has transmitted him these simple, but priceless words of commendation: "I flatter myself it is unnecessary for me to repeat to you how high a place you hold in my esteem. The confidence you have experienced, and the manner in which you have been employed on several important occasions, testify the value I set upon your military qualifications, and the regret I must feel that circumstances have deprived the army of your services." Before such witness, how are aspersion and detraction shamed! Washington's never-failing trust and ever affectionate respect are, of themselves, sufficient to prove their possessor's title clear to proud historic praise; and Sullivan's name does belong, of right, to that choice list of eminent commanders which bears such other names as Greene and Knox, Steuben and Stark.

With health somewhat repaired, this man of versatile capacity might not be spared from public service. In Congress he must now serve, not as six years before he had done, a cluster of detached and dependent colonies, but a confederation of independent states—even a young nation, helping by wise legislation, war and financial, to lift it from weakness into strength. There was need of clear-sighted, far-sighted, and steady-handed statesmanship. This statesmanship Sullivan had, as he then evinced, as well as later, when thrice called to the executive chair of New Hampshire; and, later still, when he lent his strong influence to his state's

adoption of the constitution of the United States—the adoption which gave to that great instrument of Union, force and effect as the organic law of the land.

The time allotted this effort does not allow that specific and minute characterization which, in general, is a most desirable feature of biographic estimates.

A century, lacking but a few weeks, has elapsed, since all that was mortal of our hero was laid away in yon modest burial-ground upon the hill close by the house in which he dwelt. His life and character have been scanned, scrutinized, and criticised, but only, in result, to brighten his fame; for it is a fame born of genuine merit,—a very diamond, in whose facets friction but kindles the lustrous sparkle of precious fire. And now, at last, yon monument has risen to attest the perpetuity of that fame. Such structures do honor to the living as well as to the dead; declaring in mute eloquence, as they do, that the virtues of the dead thus remembered are still the cherished possession of the living. Of such memorials, New Hampshire has none too many. Perhaps another like this, and standing near, may some time rise upon Durham's historic soil. For, in view of the devoted friendship, the identical patriotism, the kindred service, and the kindred fame of the heroic law student and his heroic tutor, it would seem, indeed, that with beautiful fitness, twin monuments might stand in brotherly proximity, forever sacred to the memory of ALEXANDER SCAMMELL and JOHN SULLIVAN.

SENATOR CHANDLER'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen: When this assembly adjourned this forenoon I thought the exercises might well close. After the preliminary proceedings we had the address of His Excellency Governor Smith—a perfect literary and oratorical jewel; the charming and appropriate poem of Mr. O'Meara; the felicitous oration of the orator of the day, Rev. Dr. Quint, one of the most distinguished scholars, historians, and divines of whom the country can boast; and last, the impressive Masonic ceremonies. But now I do not regret that the ceremonies are being continued. I have already been delighted with the admirable sketch and characterization of the subject of the day's exercises by the eloquent Mr. Amos Hadley, representing the New Hampshire Historical Society; a gentleman whom I remember so well as my beloved tutor in early days, who so retains his youthful vigor that you will wonder whether I went to school to him or he went to school to me; and so we proceed further with the commemorative discourses.

A nation is unfortunate whose beginning is destitute of heroism. Fortunate is a nation whose foundations were laid by exciting deeds of patriotism performed by heroic men. This was the genesis of our nation, and the exploits of the Revolution, and the careers of the men of the Revolution, give a rare glory to the beginning of our wonderful republic.

John Sullivan was one of the finest characters of the Revolution. His life and services have been fittingly described to-day. It is well to compare him, without disparagement of either, with his great associate, John Stark. Stark was a great fighter, and the battles which gave him fame were critical contests: Bunker Hill, the start of the Revolution; Trenton, Washington's winter battle, that revived dying hopes and saved the collapse of the Revolution; Bennington, which resulted in the capture of Burgoyne and the French alliance. Stark must be justly considered as perhaps the greatest fighter, next to Arnold and Wayne, of the War of Independence.

But Sullivan was a great general; not so fortunate in the results of all his feats of arms, but his military services,—at Fort William and Mary, at the siege of Boston, in the Northern army on the Canadian border, on Long Island, where he was captured, at the capture of the Hessians at Trenton, at Princeton, in the Staten Island raid, on the Brandywine and at Germantown, in Rhode Island, at the Battle of Butt's Hill, which Lafayette said was the best fought battle of the Revolution, and in the Iroquois Indian expedition,—give him enduring military fame, resting upon foundations quite as substantial as those of the gallant Stark

Besides, he was great in other spheres of duty and action ; as a lawyer, a legislator, a statesman, a governor, and a judge, he was far above mediocrity ; and entitled, as a man of many abilities of differing character, to rank among the very great-

est men of the Revolutionary period. New Hampshire has waited too long before erecting this monument, and granting to Sullivan the commemoration which this day's exercises will aptly furnish.

It was my good fortune, while a boy studying law with Colonel John H. George, to know John Sullivan, the grandson of the general, and the son of George Sullivan. The grandfather was attorney-general of New Hampshire from 1782 to 1786; the father, for about a year, in 1805, and again from 1815 to 1835; and the grandson, from 1848 to 1863—the office being forty years in the hands of these three lawyers. The last Attorney-General John Sullivan was a strong, earnest man, and an able lawyer. He prepared his cases with care and industry, and argued them with intense zeal and earnestness. He impressed me as a vigorous, powerful man intellectually, and, judging him by my later observation of other distinguished men, I realize that he was one of the great men of his generation, although, like Ira Perley and many other great lawyers, never venturing in his career outside his chosen profession of the law. While he was a strong man, terribly in earnest, yet his Irish blood made him good-natured and witty, and I formed for him a warm attachment. One of his sons, Edward, I have seen here present to-day, and the other, Dr. John Sullivan, resides in Boston. Whenever these sons come to Durham or to New Hampshire, they should be greeted with open arms and cordial words of welcome.

Truly the lives of these three great men—John

Sullivan, George Sullivan, and John Sullivan—are all happily commemorated by the eloquent oration and the fervid poem of to-day's exercises, and by the monument which the state has erected in honor of their united services and careers, for with the lawyer and soldier, statesman and patriot, whose name alone is inscribed thereon, are also embalmed the achievements of the son and grandson. Their characters may well be contemplated and studied by rising generations in our state for all time, as furnishing the highest incentives to industry, integrity, high achievement, and unbounded patriotism. The lustre in our annals of the gift to our early glories bestowed by Ireland in sending to us the family of Sullivan, will never be obliterated or forgotten.

ADDRESS OF SENATOR BLAIR.

Mr. President: Nothing like justice can be done in ten minutes to a career so ample and illustrious as that of General Sullivan.

There is no sphere of public life in which he was not eminent nor of private life in which he was not influential and beloved.

He lived but fifty-four years, yet so early did the extraordinary forces within him ripen into harmonious and efficient activity that the full weight of professional and domestic responsibilities was upon him even before he had attained the age of legal majority, so that, notwithstanding his early death, he accomplished the work of a much longer life than is usually allotted to man, and by his great services

to his family, his state, and his country, he fully proved that, regardless of mere duration, "that life is long which answers life's great end."

When we consider the times in which he lived and the opportunities which he possessed to prepare for the struggles and the triumphs before him, we are the more struck with that which he accomplished and confirmed in the impression that what we call education or training in the schools is of secondary importance.

There is nothing creative in the schools. They make the most of that which nature gives, but true genius and great abilities will force their way through and over all obstacles and surmount impossibilities where mere training and instruction fall down helpless and despairing.

Born in the year 1740, an active lawyer and a married man in 1760, he was the leading patriot who, with congenial spirits and worthy comrades, in the year 1774 seized Fort William and Mary,—perhaps the initial act of the Revolutionary War—captured its cannon and ammunition, and thereby made it possible to fight the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Already, by his knowledge of history, of the laws, and of the principles of liberty, and by his sweet yet vehement and irresistible eloquence as a speaker, and by his felicity and power as a writer, and by his active and practical identification with the enlistment and discipline of the military forces of the state, with careful study of the principles and history of the art of war, he was known through-

out all the colonies as one of the most reliable and important, and, if I may so speak, many-sided and all-round patriots among those wonderful men who were rapidly making ready for the great events just before them.

Whatever was necessary to be done to overthrow tyranny and to upbuild liberty, John Sullivan knew how to do, and he went ahead and did it. He was truly one of the most accomplished men of his time.

Throughout the whole of the greatest seven years of human history, either in camp, on field, or in senate, he was continually employed in the highest service of his country.

The whole list of Revolutionary worthies does not furnish one name which, on the whole, shines more resplendently in all the great departments of public service than that of John Sullivan. If there be such a name, declare it!

Assailed in his military capacity because envy could not brook his superiority, yet, after all, the sharpest and most malevolent criticism has but shown that at the siege of Boston, on Long Island, in Canada, at Trenton and Princeton, at Brandywine and Germantown, in Rhode Island, and among the savages of our then northwestern frontier, he was always the equal of any man in the same situation; and the two greatest of our Revolutionary commanders—Washington and Greene—were his stanchest friends and strongest defenders.

Wherever and whenever he failed, Washington and Greene and any other man would have failed

and did fail, simply because the force of numbers and insurmountable obstacles rendered success impossible; while his gallantry and generalship under difficulties made every defeat more honorable than victory.

In the Continental Congress he was chairman of the Committee upon the War, and was a leading member of many others. Hardly a man in the whole body was more universally useful and influential in the service of his country.

Retiring at length to private life with health and fortune almost wholly lost in his unsparing devotion to the public welfare, he was not permitted to renew his strength or to seek the restoration of his fortunes in the walks of private life which he had always found lined with success, and profit, and happiness; but his state selected him for the almost forced acceptance of her varied and highest service, while his last days were fitly spent in the discharge of judicial duty in the administration of the great principles of the law, which had first stirred the powers of his remarkable mind, and aroused that ambition for excellence which gave to his state and country one of their greatest orators, statesmen, and generals.

History has not done justice to John Sullivan. New Hampshire has been too negligent of his fame. She has always been more concerned to make history than to write it. Scores of names which deserve immortality have been completely lost or linger only as a vanishing echo on her hills.

She has the materials for historic romance formed

upon the unvarnished truth of two hundred and fifty years of hardship, heroism, daring, endurance, and gallantry, unsurpassed, save only in years, by those which gild the stories of Scotland and Switzerland, or even the mythological splendors of Greece and Rome.

But we have wasted our treasures because they were so common that we did not realize their value, while other states have exploited theirs and more wisely have preserved them for the emulation and honors of posterity.

This monument to John Sullivan is a tardy, and, although a beautiful, yet an inadequate tribute to his life and character.

There is no place more appropriate than the grave where his ashes repose among the remains of those whom he loved and amid the everlasting outlines of nature with which he was familiar to commemorate his fame, but it would well comport with the duty of the state and of the nation, to both of whom he gave the best services of one of their greatest sons, if at their capitals, with no longer delay, they should erect suitable monuments to his memory, to which posterity might turn from every part of the whole state and of the whole nation to imbibe the highest lessons of patriotism from one who ever taught them by his own high example, and learn to speak with honor and reverence the illustrious name of General John Sullivan.

ADDRESS OF HON. HENRY M. BAKER.

Mr. President: It has been said that the memory of a well-spent life is immortal. I should prefer to say that the influence of such a life never dies. Measured by either statement, an infinitude of earthly remembrance and gratitude remains for General Sullivan.

Descended from the best of heroic Irish stock, he inherited patriotism, valor, and a love of learning. His father, a teacher by profession, gave him a fair education, instilled into his young mind good moral principles, and encouraged his natural love of liberty and justice.

Upon leaving home he was fortunate in becoming a member of the family of Mr. Livermore, of Portsmouth, with whom he studied law. His early professional career was marked by an industry and brilliancy which assured his later triumphs at the bar and the dignity and learning with which he honored the bench.

The blood of his ancestor, Dermod, chief of Beare and Bantry, incited him to military service. As early as 1772 he was major of a New Hampshire regiment. In 1774 a member of the Provincial Assembly, and later in that year and in 1775 a delegate to the Continental Congress. Returning from his first session with the belief that a resort to arms against the oppression of England was inevitable, he organized and led the little party which captured the powder and arms in Fort William and Mary, part of which was used at Bun-

ker Hill. Had all of that ammunition been available, our troops would have won a glorious victory upon that immortal field. In 1775, he was elected a brigadier-general by Congress, and at once left the halls of consultation and legislation for the sterner duties of active military life. The next year he was promoted to major-general, and three years later retired from the army, having tendered his resignation in consequence of failing health and some congressional criticisms of his military career, resulting principally from his criticism of Congress in official reports and otherwise.

The orator of this occasion has nobly spoken of General Sullivan's services during the Revolutionary War, and I will not trespass upon your patience even for a brief review of his most distinguished martial achievements. That he was by nature a military leader is unquestionably true. That he won no great victories was an incident of the times; but in the fight at Trenton, and in the campaigns in Rhode Island, and in chief command against the Six Nations, he showed marked military genius and strategic ability.

That General Sullivan was no more severe toward the Indians than the occasion and circumstances demanded, is undoubtedly true, as Washington had instructed him to devastate their settlements and capture those of every age and sex.

An historian of the expedition against the Six Nations has said,—"The boldness of its conception was only equaled by the bravery and determination with which its hardship and danger were met

and its objects accomplished. . . . The daring and intrepid march has been not inaptly compared to the famous expedition of Cortez to the ancient halls of the Montezumas, or that later brilliant achievement, Sherman's march to the sea. . . . The battle of Newtown may justly be considered one of the most important engagements of the Revolutionary War, and as worthy of commemoration as Bunker Hill or Monmouth, Brandywine or Princeton." The historian may be a little enthusiastic; but that General Sullivan accomplished with great success and slight loss a difficult military task, no one will deny. Did his fame as a leader rest upon this campaign alone, were his other services unrecorded, it would be secure wherever the science of war is known and courage and intrepidity honored.

When he laid aside his sword, a grateful people, remembering his civic ability, continued him in the service of the state. They returned him to Congress, made him attorney-general, president, as our governors were then designated, speaker of the House of Representatives, and president of the convention which ratified the Federal Constitution, then a presidential elector, enabling him to vote for his old commander and personal friend, General Washington. He was again elected president of New Hampshire, and the same year was appointed by Washington district judge for our state, an office which he worthily filled until his death.

Seldom is it the good fortune of any one to serve his country in such diverse, yet responsible posi-

tions as General Sullivan held and honored. Still more rare to discharge every duty with so great energy and ability.

That he was generous is attested by the fact that he spent a considerable private fortune in defense of his country; that he had great and varied abilities is shown by his private and public career; that he was an honest public servant and faithful in the details of life is proved by the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-men.

To say he was mortal is to admit that he had faults. To point to his life is to show how few they were and how well he bore himself in prosperity and adversity, his evident good will and honest purpose appealing to our hearts for the approval which he earned.

The state of New Hampshire does well to commemorate the brilliant services of her loyal son, who in war and peace added lustre to her name.

REMARKS BY GOVERNOR SMYTH.

Mr. President: New Hampshire honors herself in honoring John Sullivan. In erecting this monument the state does more than simply recognize the virtues of this patriot, this loyal citizen, this large-hearted man, this heroic soldier. For it holds before men the fact that though years may pass without adequate acknowledgment of public services and private virtue, still sooner or later the honor that is due will be given. New Hampshire will not suffer the name and the deeds of her sons to be forgotten, but will write them in enduring

granite, and hold the legacy of their nobility her most priceless possession.

The state has no duty more imperative than that of preserving the records which tell the story of those who have made New Hampshire what it is. In my own official life, there were few things which I consider of more importance than the beginning of that movement which has resulted in the continued publication of the "Provincial and State Papers." The present and the future historians of the state must find in these papers the chief material for their work; and the appointment of Dr. Nathaniel Bouton as state historian, during my second term as governor of the state, marks the earliest movement towards the preservation and publication of these papers.

When I think of the many associations connected with this place, now dignified by this monument to Gen. John Sullivan, I am impressed by the fact that the history of the state demands that the early features of New Hampshire's life shall have more complete rehearsal. Perhaps there is no man living so well fitted to record the story of the early struggles in this part of the state as is Dr. Quint. The exhaustive researches he has made should not be lost. At whatever expense, if not by public appropriation then by private subscription, in which I shall be glad to bear some share, his work should be carried on, and the results published. For the sake of those who are to come, we cannot afford to forget the services of those who have gone before. Nothing we can leave our children can be worth

more than the story of what their fathers have suffered and have accomplished.

Mr. President, it is a pleasure to me to be here, to listen to the eloquent addresses from this platform, and to unite with these representative men in doing honor to this hero of the trying hour of our nation's birth. He being dead, yet speaketh. His life is a perpetual force, not only in our American Union, but throughout the world. For the sphere of the influence of the noble man, the knight of freedom and independence, cannot be limited. Wherever the rights of man are recognized, and so long as government by the people shall endure, the name of John Sullivan must be as one of the imperishable, of those "who are not born to die."

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN C. LINEHAN.

Mr. Chairman: Although appreciating the honor of being called upon to speak on this occasion, and in the presence of such a distinguished audience, still, were I to consult my own inclinations as well as the comfort of my hearers, I should much prefer to remain a listener. However, I have made it a rule through life to try to respond to any call made upon me, and I will not make this an exception. I can truthfully say that thus far, this has been for me one of the pleasantest gatherings I have ever attended. Like John Sullivan, I am of Irish origin, but unlike him, of Irish birth, and the tributes so eloquently and so ungrudgingly paid him by the speaker of the day, by Senator Chandler, and by our good governor, are appre-

ciated by none more than by myself. For though here nearly half a century, I have never forgotten, and never shall forget, the land of my ancestors, a land that for over a hundred and fifty years has been closely connected with the best interests of this country, and from which came thousands who did their full part in the establishment and maintenance of our government. I am also interested from the fact that I was born almost within the shadow of the walls of a castle built by one of Sullivan's ancestors, and as a child had heard around the fireside the traditions of his family, which was one of the most distinguished in the south of Ireland long before the Normans came to England under William the Conqueror.

A few years ago, it was my privilege to be present at a meeting of a well-known historical association where one of the speakers expressed in strong language his resentment at the treatment of New Hampshire in the average description of the Battle of Bunker Hill, all the glory as a rule being given to Massachusetts when New Hampshire furnished the greater part of the men who fought there. Now those who, like myself, are of Irish birth or parentage, and who are interested in the good name of their mother-land, have the same fault to find with the average gathering of this character (to which, however, this is a marked exception), for although natives of Ireland and their sons have taken a prominent part in the history of New Hampshire from the days of Darby Field, "The Irish Soldier for Discovery," who

was sent here by Capt. John Mason in 1631, down to the time that John Sullivan led the attack on the fort at Newcastle, they have all been credited, not to Ireland, but to Scotland, by a class of writers who totally ignore the origin of the people of both countries.

> "By Mac and O' you'll always know
> True Irishmen, they say;
> But if they lack the O' or Mac,
> No Irishmen are they."

Our New Hampshire McNeils, McDufees, McMurphys, and McKeans were not, so far as blood was concerned, strangers to the O'Neils, O'Duffys, O'Murphys, and O'Kanes, and the same can be said of others bearing different names. Let that be as it may, however, this is the first meeting called to celebrate an event connected with the record of a New Hampshire man of Irish parentage, that the individual whose memory is thus honored was not styled a "Scotch-Irishman."

John Sullivan sprang from a race of soldiers. His grandfather was an officer in the garrison of Limerick, dying later in the French service, and his father was born in that city during its siege by William III. Many of his relatives bearing the same name distinguished themselves in the armies of France, of Spain, and of Austria. In his veins flowed the blood of the Norman Butlers and Fitzgeralds, who had become, in time, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." His brother James was governor of Massachusetts, attorney-general of the

commonwealth, and historian of Maine. His brother Daniel led one hundred men to Bunker Hill and lost his life in the cause to which John had devoted his health and fortune, and his brother Eben served in the Continental Army from the beginning to the end of the struggle.

It seems, therefore, like retributive justice to find the grandson of the Limerick soldier paying, with interest, his grandfather's debt to the government that had driven his father into exile, for on the authority of one of the king's provincial councillors, whose words have been quoted by the speaker of the day, he, John Sullivan, was the first man to commit an overt act against the government, for which his property was threatened with confiscation, and himself with death. So much for his origin, and I crave your indulgence for dwelling upon it, but if New Hampshire resents the attempt of Massachusetts to appropriate to herself the greater part of the glory of Bunker Hill, surely you will pardon me for trying to retain for Ireland credit due the birthplace of the father of John Sullivan.

Leaving his origin out of the question, however, a better American, a more capable, a more useful, or a more fearless man than John Sullivan our state never possessed. All his thoughts, his impulses, and his actions from the time he grew to manhood down to the hour of his death were for the best interests of the land that gave him birth. The outbreak of the Revolution found him in health and prosperous, as such things were measured in those

days. Its close left him broken in health and depleted in purse.

This monument will ever be a reminder to the people of Durham, and to the strangers who pass it by, of a man whose sole thought, and whose every action, was to aid in the establishment on this continent of a government of the people; for, as he said in his letter to Meshech Weare in July, 1775, "All governments are, or ought to be, instituted for the good of the people; and that form of government is the most perfect when that design is most nearly and effectually answered."

In accordance with the plan outlined by him in this letter, the state government of New Hampshire was instituted, and nearly a century later the principles thus enunciated by him were expressed by Abraham Lincoln on the Gettysburg battle-field, in the immortal address wherein he spoke of "a government of the people, by the people, for the people."

But his most enduring monument, and one that the ravages of time can neither efface nor destroy, will be found in the record of his deeds as a patriot, a statesman, and a soldier in the provincial, revolutionary, and state papers of New Hampshire. No man of that period occupies more space therein, and his correspondence, which seems endless, is evidence of his ability, his zeal, his love for his native state, and his tireless labor in behalf of liberty.

What a record of the man these papers contain! In 1766, a young unknown lawyer in the town of Durham; in 1774, a major in the colonial militia;

in May of the same year, a delegate to the Continental Congress; in December following, the leader of the party that captured the powder at Newcastle; a brigadier-general in 1775; a major-general a year later, distinguished for gallantry at Germantown and Brandywine; in command at Rhode Island in 1778, and in 1779 leading the expedition against the Six Nations, which resulted in the overthrow of the most complete organization of Indians ever effected on this continent. The thanks of the immortal Washington and of the Continental Congress, as expressed in general orders and appropriate resolutions, are the best evidence of the character of his services in the campaign, for after this event there were no repetitions of the massacre of Wyoming and Cherry Valley. Four monuments erected by the grateful people of the Empire State mark the route traversed by his victorious troops, and a county named in his honor evinces the love and respect in which the memory of John Sullivan is held by the citizens of New York.

His military career ends here. He returns to his home with ruined health and exhausted resources, but even in that condition he responded to the calls made upon him by the people of New Hampshire, who had, from the time the struggle began, placed the most implicit confidence in his counsels. In November, 1775, when the Connecticut troops refused to serve beyond their term of enlistment, in response to his appeal, thirty-one companies of sixty-four men each were recruited and sent from New Hampshire. In response to the request of the

people of New Hampshire, Sullivan was sent by Washington to Portsmouth to superintend the construction of harbor defenses against a supposed naval attack of the enemy.

In 1777 Massachusetts was asked to co-operate with New Hampshire in an appeal to Washington to have him appointed to the command of the Northern army, and in November of the same year he received the thanks of the general court for his conduct in Rhode Island, all of which is proof of the love and esteem in which he was held in New Hampshire. On his return from the army, the New Hampshire council and assembly voted an address congratulating him on his safe return.

The necessities of the times demanding his aid, he was directed in March, 1780, to draft a bill to regulate the militia. In June, 1781, he was elected to represent his state in the national Congress, and in January, 1782, he was chosen commander of the forces in the western part of the state. The same month and year he was appointed attorney-general of the state. In 1788 he was president of the state convention, which adopted the Federal constitution. Later, he was president of the state senate, a member of the executive council, a presidential elector, and for three years was president of the state, the official title of the governor at that time. He was appointed judge of the district court of New Hampshire by his old commander, Washington, whose confidence and esteem he had always retained, and while holding this position died, on the 23d of January, 1795, at the age of fifty-four.

The trust reposed in him by the immortal leader of the Continental Army, and by the people of his native state, was shared by his military associates in the great contest, for on the formation of the Order of the Cincinnati he was chosen by his fellow-officers the commander of the New Hampshire branch of the association.

From 1774 to 1795, twenty-one years, his whole time had been devoted to the best interests of his state and country. His active career began when he was thirty-three years of age; it ended on his death-bed at fifty-four. This record is his best monument, and it will exist as long as the granite hills of the state he loved, for in its interests he sacrificed fortune and health, and realizing this fact, Matthew Patten, for the Committee of Safety, wrote him during the war, "That the Almighty may direct your counsels, be with you in the day of battle, and that you may be preserved as a pattern to this people for many years to come, is our fervent prayer." And with this epitaph for the monument, the fervent sentiments of a Christian patriot, for such was Matthew Patten, I lay my tribute on the grave of John Sullivan.

ADDRESS OF PATRICK H. SULLIVAN.

As by the stroke of a magician's wand, the present and all that pertains to it have this day been put away from sight and mind, and the citizens of the greatest republic that the world has seen, revel in the past, which is their grandest heritage. As in a dream we move to-day, spirits of another time

than this. Again the country stretches about us, an almost unbroken wilderness; New York and Philadelphia are no longer within speaking distance, and Europe lies a fabulous way beyond infinite leagues of the tossing sea. The men who surround us are of a nobler, more heroic type; molded, it would seem, upon another plan; unlike the men of to-day in customs and temperament. These men are the progenitors of the new nation, the unconscious founders of the greatest race old mother earth has ever borne. There is stern work to be done here in the new world, and nature and the elements, the reluctant soil and savage neighbors have conspired to prepare for the task men who will not shrink, who will not flinch. Human liberty, overpowered in the old world, has made her way across the trackless ocean to fight the last fight. Here and now, on new ground, among the sturdy colonists, she takes a last stand, knowing that defeat here means defeat forever. How well she chose her time and place you all know, and it is for me to offer only a very brief tribute to the man who helped to accomplish this great work, and to the state which gave him for its accomplishment.

Time, like Death, is a great leveler. It destroys in its onward course memories dear and seemingly perpetual. But the roll of the years that have passed since first the white man trod the Western continent is not wholly a dry enumeration of men who have been born and who have died and whose total history upon earth is to be summed up in these few trite words. Nor have all the events, the hap-

penings of that long period, the same empty epitaph. To be sure, thousands of men have lived upon this coast whose pulses stirred and whose brains throbbed with pure and lofty purposes, that we may never know. Their brief course was run, the grave closed over them, oblivion has claimed them, and the children of their children know them not.

> "No soul shall tell, nor lips shall number
> The names and tribes of you that slumber,
> No memory, no memorial."

But there are men whose careers have defied the grim shadows that gather at each man's tomb to enshroud and obliterate every memory that might endear him to the future, men who have traced their lives upon the book of time in characters so luminous they shine and glow to-day, and will forever.

Such a man was General John Sullivan. How much do we not owe to the daring of his genius and the steadfastness of the purpose which upbore him through the trials and struggles of the stormy time in which he lived? The men of New Hampshire in the days of Sullivan are a fair type of the American colonist. He was imbued with a love of God and a filial reverence for the mother-land. England or Ireland, as the case might be, was the loadstone which always attracted his admiration and devotion. Not lightly could he sever ties so dear. The hardy yeoman, home from toil in the fields or amid the virgin forests which surrounded his humble home, went back in fancy to the good old days of yore, and be he Irishman, Englishman,

or Scotchman, his heart was bound up in the tight little island across the sea that held the ashes of his kindred. Amid such men and such surroundings the youth of Sullivan was passed. The people of that day were full of stern purpose and animated with the hope of carving out in the western world a new and perhaps greater Britain than the one left behind. But they were not blind, nor could they be deceived. Passionately devoted as they were to the mother-land, they could not shut their eyes to the schemes of oppression that were being hatched against them in Parliament, and it is to their eternal credit that after the first candid and honest protest they made no effort to do so. They remembered the glories of the days that were, and all the tender thoughts that the word "home" summoned, but they could not forget the Stamp Act, the Tea Tax, and the Boston Massacre. A soldiery was quartered upon them, troopers who every day became more insolent, and already bore themselves as conquerors among the conquered. The spirit of the colonists, who had suffered the severities of the Canadian winter in the French and Indian wars, chafed beneath this restraint. They had measured their valor with the English soldiers on the Plains of Abraham and before the batteries of Louisburg, and they knew that the American troops, rough and uncouth though they might be, had nobly borne themselves in the battle's front. Not thoughtlessly could they enter upon a struggle with the greater power, but the idea of submission to petty oppressions already begun, and more

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shameful humiliations in store, was not to be entertained for a moment. They began to gird themselves for the fray, which they now saw must soon be at hand.

It is at this time that the genius of Sullivan displays itself. As has been already said, his race had never learned to bear English tyranny meekly. None saw more clearly than he that the colonists, in order to preserve their liberties, nay, even their self-respect, must take a stand against the home government and maintain it to the bitter end. Having come to this conclusion, it was not in his nature to sit idly by, lest perchance events might be so shaped as to preclude all possibility of the success of the cause he held so dear. He realized that it was a time for action, that the theorist and dreamer must be sent to the rear, and that if the colonists would be in any way prepared for the impending conflict, they must be up and doing. From this train of reasoning was evolved the scheme for the capture of powder at Fort William and Mary. Coolly planned and daringly executed, that has always seemed to me one of the most significant episodes of the Revolutionary period. To appreciate it fully we must remember that it took place before actual hostilities began, when as yet it was generally hoped that the struggle might be averted. The punishment that awaited failure or detection might well have deterred them from such an awful risk. But the cannon's mouth is not the only criterion of heroism. It is easy to do deeds of surpassing bravery amid the din and smoke

of battle, when the ear is pierced with the call of bugle, the heart sustained with the roll of drum, and the brain frenzied with the shouts of victory almost assured. The Revolutionary War is rich in heroism of this sort, from Lexington to Yorktown. But I find Nathan Hale, the patriot spy, standing pinioned upon the scaffold, about to suffer an ignominious death, a grander figure than Anthony Wayne at Stony Point, and to my mind, Sullivan and his companions, gliding down the silent river amid the shadows of night, to pit themselves against the English garrison at Newcastle, present a picture which for patriotism and undaunted heroism, matches well the famous crossing of the Delaware.

Such is the man whom to-day our state seeks to honor, and in so doing honors herself and is the more endeared to her loving children. New Hampshire, she of the granite hills and sturdy men, to-day recalls to the nation the debt it owes for the son she has given for its foundation and demonstrates anew that she is preëminently a standard of the American state. Here the perfection of the governmental principles of all the ages is applied to a body of citizens who are determined that freedom and equality shall cease to be mere words and shall stand for something at last. Greece arose like Cytherea from the sea, dazzled and delighted her uncouth neighbors for a while and then, forgetting the fundamental principles upon which her stability and glory depended, went down in shame before all mankind. Rome, on a grander scale, repeated the same humiliating and shameful spec-

tacle. On the western shores, the men who love man are once more striving to carry out the idea of universal brotherhood, and the corner-stone of their system is the American state, which received its impetus at the Continental Congress where Sullivan so well represented his native state.

After all, we are forced to admit that although our task to-day is a labor of love, it is in some senses an unnecessary one. Sullivan needs no monument to perpetuate his memory. That will never fade. More enduring than bronze, more storm-defying than the granite of his native hills, it will survive to animate with noble purpose generations yet unborn. A great life is never lived in vain. It will pulsate through ages to come, to inspire American youth in crises now unthought of. Gen. John Sullivan has already builded a monument greater, grander, broader than any reared by mortal hands. It is called the American nation. Its governmental influence extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific, but its moral influence encircles the globe. In the humble hamlet of the European, on the plateaus of Asia, yea, amid the dense forests of Africa, is heard the whisper of the land of promise across the sea, where law and justice reign, and where liberty never sleeps. She is the asylum of the down-trodden from every clime, and the dust of the heroes who slumber in her bosom, of Washington and Sullivan, and Putnam and Stark, is a pledge that the glad promise which she holds out to all mankind will never be broken.

ADDRESS OF COLONEL DANIEL HALL.

Mr. President: There is but little to glean in any field of history or research which has once been traversed by our distinguished orator of the day. In undertaking to pass over such a field, one is reduced to the same necessities as General Sheridan said a bird would be in the Shenandoah Valley—that "he could n't fly over it, after his army had been there, without carrying his rations."

Especially are we indebted to him for the interest, and zeal, and critical acumen, but at the same time, loving and reverential spirit, with which he has studied, and written, and spoken upon the early history and deeds of Southern New Hampshire. We are under obligations to him for bringing to light much of the history of the dear and beautiful land which we now inhabit, the cradle and nursery of American liberty.

If it were in accord with the proprieties of the occasion, I should be tempted to dwell upon the circumstances, which must be regretted by all, which have stood in the way of the great work he might have given us, illustrative of the early history of New Hampshire—which would have delighted us as Scott delighted the world by his "Tales of the Scottish Border," and sent his name down to all future generations as Scott did his, not exactly by achievements in the realm of romance,—I do n't mean that,—but by his labors in the clearer and more searching light of historical inquiry.

The story of General Sullivan's life and services

has been graphically told to-day, and can never fail to be interesting to the American people. His career at every stage was striking and honorable. A poor boy, son of an Irish immigrant, he rose by his unaided, native resources to a high position at the bar, at a very precocious age. He was among the earliest and boldest advocates of the cause of Independence, and put his principles into practice by leading in the first overt act of the Revolution, forcibly seizing the military stores of England, and using them in armed resistance to British tyranny and the British crown. As a member of the First Continental Congress, he counseled ever and unwaveringly a policy of separation from the mother country. Without preparatory training, and with very limited means of martial education, he was raised at once to high military rank, and as a general officer under Washington, often his second in command, he was engaged in numerous great battles, and enjoyed under him more of independent command than any other officer. In these responsible situations, he always acquitted himself with a valor and courage never doubted, and inferior to no other soldier. He sacrificed his personal fortune, and all his opportunities for wealth and preferment, in the service of his country. After his military service ended, as a member of Congress again he was foremost among the great men who negotiated the terms of peace and launched the government upon its magnificent course. Again in New Hampshire, as a lawyer and attorney-general, he commenced that forensic career as a bril-

liant advocate, which he and his lineal descendants carried on for nearly half a century. As his crowning civic honor, he was made president of the colony, elevated to the highest post in their gift by the people who had known him from infancy, who knew his honor, and ability, and services to the state and country. Finally, as a jurist, he was appointed to the highest judicial place in the state, as a mark of the special confidence and partiality of George Washington.

In all the phases and all the trusts of his life, it must be the verdict of every careful and discriminating student of that life that General Sullivan was a man of commanding talents, a writer and orator of distinguished ability, a soldier without fear and without reproach, a patriotic man, a man of honor and integrity, and courage unimpeachable.

There was a good strain of blood in these Sullivans,—the younger brother, James, attorney-general and governor of Massachusetts, being fully the general's equal as a lawyer, orator, writer, and statesman,—and it coursed down hotly through the veins of several generations. There was the warm, emotional Irish temperament, which has been associated with genius and eloquence the world over for centuries. The tones of its graceful and flowery speech have resounded in our courts of law, in our legislative halls, and on our platforms to this day; and the same temperament is full of the dash and intrepidity, the fiery élan which has enabled the Irish soldier in all time to tread the battlefields of

Europe and America with the pace of a victor and hero.

If General Sullivan met with defeat in most of his battles, so also did Washington himself. Let it be never forgotten that independence was won not by fighting so much as by the Fabian policy of avoiding fighting, or rather by the Fabian and fighting policies combined. It is easy to account for this by the simple truth familiar to every military man and every student of history, that the raw and untried levies of the American colonies, until seasoned by discipline and battle, could not be successfully pitted against the veteran legions of Europe.

But despite a complete consensus of opinion as to General Sullivan's courage, patriotism, and intellectual superiority, he has been the object of grave and weighty personal attack. Our great American historian, Bancroft, usually so just and discriminating, seems to have entertained a special hostility to him. Nowhere does he praise him, but finds every possible occasion to criticise and disparage him. He blames him for every mishap of the army when he is near it, and not content with innuendoes and other evidences of his prejudices scattered everywhere throughout his great work, he "thunders in the index" in the most terrific way, the text referred to not seldom failing to support the overdrawn language of the table of contents. In only one place do I remember that Bancroft says a word in his praise, but a tribute to his personal courage is extorted from him by Sullivan's splendid intrepidity at the Battle of the Brandywine.

These charges have been formally met and refuted by the historical societies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, by Amory in his "Life of Sullivan," and to-day most triumphantly, as it seems to me, by the masterly address to which we have listened; so that General Sullivan's fame would seem to be safe from further aspersion. Indeed, the defense of this day must be to the author a grateful service to the memory of one of the earliest, most active, devoted, and indomitable patriots of our revolutionary era—a service demanded by the truth of history.

It is the tendency of the critical and skeptical spirit of the age to throw down our historical idols; but it seems to me that while truth is always to be preferred to falsehood, it is time to call a halt to this depreciatory spirit, this disposition to ferret out and expose with exaggeration the inevitable flaws in great public characters. It cannot be that the great things of history have been accomplished without men of heroic mold, and so let us keep some of them enthroned in our reverence.

Take away, O historical iconoclast! if you will, old "Homer and the tale of Troy divine!" obliterate the walls of Troy and the miraculous annals of early Rome! blot out Romulus and Remus, and even Alexander and Napoleon, and the other blood-thirsty tyrants and conquerors of history! But leave us our own Washington, and leave us Greene, and Lafayette, and Sullivan, our ideals of patriotism and love of liberty, who enjoyed the confidence and affection of Washington to the last hour of his life.

Twenty-five years ago, the biographer of General Sullivan said,—"It is to be hoped that at some future day the state, as she grows in prosperity, and is more disposed to value the services which established her independence and free institutions, will erect in her capital or near their sepulchres, statues or monuments to the memories of her distinguished Revolutionary worthies."

New Hampshire has been tardy in paying this tribute of gratitude to her illustrious sons; but within a few years past she has made a good beginning, and Weare, and Thornton, and Stark are already thus honored. To-day she comes to perform this office of duty and reverence to another of her worthies,—lawyer, orator, soldier, patriot, chief magistrate of the state. Here, on the spot chosen by him as his dwelling-place on earth, and as his grave,—here, in the old town of his adoption, she raises his monument, modestly but significantly, and by it she proclaims her judgment that John Sullivan is worthy of lasting commemoration as one of the most serviceable of the men it was her great honor to contribute to the cause of American independence.

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